Brown at 60

Great Progress, a Long Retreat and an Uncertain Future

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The Civil Rights Project

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Executive Summary

Six decades of "separate but equal" as the law of the land have now been followed by six decades of "separate is inherently unequal" as our basic law. The Brown decision set large changes and political conflicts in motion and those struggles continue today.

New national statistics show a vast transformation of the nation's school population since the civil rights era. Particularly dramatic have been an almost 30% drop in white students and close to quintupling of Latino students. The nation's two largest regions now have a majority of what were called "minorities" and whites are only the second largest group in the West. The South, always the home of most black students, now has more Latinos than blacks and is a profoundly tri-racial region.

Desegregation progress was very substantial for blacks, and occurred in the South from the mid-1960s to the late l980s. Contrary to many claims, the South has not gone back to the level of segregation before *Brown*. It has lost all of the additional progress made after l967 but is still the least segregated region for black students.

The growth of segregation has been most dramatic for Latino students, particularly in the West, where there was substantial integration in the l960s, and segregation has soared. A clear pattern is developing of black and Latino students sharing the same schools; it deserves serious attention from educators and policymakers.

Segregation is typically segregation by both race and poverty. Black and Latino students tend to be in schools with a substantial majority of poor children, but white and Asian students are typically in middle-class schools.

Segregation is by far the most serious in the central cities of the largest metropolitan areas, but it is also severe in central cities of all sizes and suburbs of the largest metro areas, which are now half nonwhite. Latinos are significantly more segregated than blacks in suburban America.

The Supreme Court has fundamentally changed desegregation law, and many major court orders have been dropped. Our statistical analysis shows that segregation increased substantially after the plans were terminated in many large districts.

A half century of research shows that many forms of unequal opportunity are linked to segregation. Further, research also finds that desegregated education has substantial benefits for educational and later life outcomes for students from all backgrounds (see research summary and sources in Appendix A).

We conclude with recommendations about how we might pursue making the promise of *Brown* a reality in the 21st century. Desegregation is not a panacea and it is not feasible in some situations.

Where it is possible-- and it still is possible in many areas-- desegregation properly implemented can make a very real contribution to equalizing educational opportunities and preparing young Americans for the extremely diverse society in which they will live and work and govern together.

Brown at 60: Great Progress, a Long Retreat and an Uncertain Future

Gary Orfield and Erica Frankenberg, with Jongyeon Ee and John Kuscera[1]

Three score years ago, when the Supreme Court concluded that "segregation is inherently unequal" and that, in the field of education, the doctrine of separate but equal "has no place," the Court found the school systems in seventeen states and in the nation's capital to be operating in violation of the dictates of the Constitution. Since more than a third of the states, home to a large majority of black Americans, had been committed to segregation throughout their history, it was a massive change, and it turned out to be far more difficult than the Court and the civil rights advocates had hoped. Nine years after *Brown*, when President John Kennedy called for the first major civil rights act of the 20th century, 99% of blacks in the South were still in totally segregated schools. Virtually no whites were in historically black schools, nor were black teachers and administrators in white schools. For all practical purposes, it was segregation as usual or "segregation forever," as some of the South's politicians promised. In the great majority of the several thousand southern districts nothing had been done.

President Lyndon Johnson powered the historic 1964 Civil Rights Act through Congress with bipartisan support, and he proceeded to enforce civil rights law more forcefully than any Administration before or since. After he also led the battle for the largest federal education aid program in American history, the Southern schools changed. Faced with the dual prospect of losing federal funds if they remained segregated, as well as the threat of a Justice Department lawsuit as a result of the Civil Rights Act, almost all the districts began to desegregate. Strongly backed by the federal courts, federal civil rights officials raised desegregation requirements each year. In 1968 the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that desegregation in the historically segregated states must be comprehensive and immediate. By 1970 Southern schools became the nation's most integrated.

The epic battle over the South attracted intense public attention and a flourishing of research and policy. That has not been true of the massive changes since *Brown*. Educational policy since the 1980s has largely ignored issues of race and has focused attention on harsh accountability policies. These policies are premised on the assumptions that equal opportunity can be universally achieved in separate schools through the application of uniform standards and sanctions and that racial segregation can be ignored. As a matter of law, the last major Supreme Court decision expanding desegregation policies came in l973. The last major Congressional action supporting desegregation and race relations initiatives in schools came in l972. The first critical Supreme Court decision limiting desegregation came 40 years ago in the metropolitan Detroit case, *Milliken v. Bradley*. Major Supreme Court decisions ending desegregation plans and forbidding major forms of voluntary desegregation followed from l991-2007. The last major federal program funding research and training on race relations and desegregation in schools was

[1] The authors gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Joy Mitra and Jennifer Ayscue in preparing this report for publication.

repealed in l981, in the first Reagan administration budget. During the civil rights era there were regular federal reports on the progress of desegregation, but those largely ended in the early 1970s.

We are now dealing with school communities that are without precedent in the U.S. We live in a complex multiracial society with woefully inadequate knowledge and little support for constructive policies geared toward equalizing opportunity, raising achievement and high school completion rates for all groups, and helping students learn how to live and work successfully in a society composed of multiple minorities, (including whites).

This report's measures and goals. This report has two basic goals: (1) to examine the large patterns of racial and ethnic transformation in American schools and (2) to provide evidence on whether we are going forward or backward in realizing the goals of the *Brown* decision. *Segregation* in this report is separation among students by race or ethnicity. Except when specifically linked to legal analysis, this report is not about the causes of segregation, nor about the feasibility of desegregation, given the changing racial composition of the country. Our use of segregation is solely about the degree of racial separation. The data analyzed in this report come from the National Center for Education Statistics, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe, which contains demographic data about all public schools and districts since the late 1980s.

There are a variety of ways researchers have described segregation and developed measures to assess trends. The basic measures we use are measures of concentration and exposure. By *concentration*, we refer to the proportion of students of different races who attend schools that are majority white; that is, the proportion in "intensely segregated" schools that are 90-100 percent white. Our measure of *exposure* is computed statistically, by looking at the schools attended by every student of each race and computing an average racial composition for the "typical" student in each racial group.

Each of these measures shows the racial/ethnic composition of schools and the potential school-level racial contact, since racial contact and attending schools with different races is key to major theories of the impact of segregation and desegregation. We also measure "double segregation," or concentration of students in schools by both race and poverty. We do this because it has been very clear for a half century that the interaction of segregation by race and class is central to many of the negative impacts of racially segregated education.

There are other ways to define and measure segregation, principally measures of the evenness or randomness of distribution of two or more racial/ethnic groups among schools. These measures posit segregation as the deviation from a random distribution of groups and desegregation as an even distribution. Some using these measures have concluded that segregation is diminishing, particularly when one considers distribution of all the racial groups in an area. Though these measures are interesting, we do not use them for two basic reasons: (1) they do not relate to the goals of school desegregation policy (access of historically excluded groups to the schools of the dominant group), and (2) they do not have any real educational meaning, since they would, at the city level, define a 90% black school in Detroit as integrated and a 50% black-50% white school as considerably segregated, even though few educators would agree with either conclusion.

In short, the measures we use are about actual interracial isolation or diversity at the school level. We present segregation trends as statistical, not legal conclusions. We report concentration and exposure, not randomness nor evenness of distribution. We are concerned primarily with the isolation or the integration of African Americans and Latinos, the two major groups historically segregated in American society.[2]

Changing Nature of Public School Enrollment

At the peak of the Civil Rights era, the U.S. was still a nation with a large white majority, reaching the end of a massive baby boom, and at a historically low point in immigration. The U.S. was two decades into a massive migration within metropolitan areas that would make it a predominantly suburban nation, as white suburbs spread across thousands of acres of farmland. Massive urban deindustrialization had not yet occurred. The economy was buoyant, but even in the midst of what became vast changes in the South, racial tension exploded into riots in the great cities of the North and West. Though black population was growing rapidly, it was only the beginning of a fundamental social transformation that included the first great immigration of nonwhites in U.S. history, which followed the l965 passage of immigration reform laws.

In little more than four decades, enrollment trends in the nation's schools (between l968 and 2011) show a 28% decline in white enrollment, a 19% increase in the black enrollment, and an almost unbelievable 495% percent increase in the number of Latino students (Table 1). During this time, Latinos became, by far, the dominant minority enrolled in the West, and their representation surged in all regions of the nation. Latinos, less than a third the number of black students in l968, had an enrollment more than half again as large as African Americans by 2011. White enrollment was almost four times the combined black and Latino enrollment in l968, but only about a fifth bigger in 2011. The Asian enrollments, insignificant in l968, reached 2.5 million by 2011, more than the number of Latinos in l968. The country underwent an incredible transformation. In 2011 it was, in important ways, a different society than that which existed when *Brown* was decided. *Brown* and the Civil Rights Act were fundamentally aimed at a transformation of a black-white South, and the impact was most dramatic there.

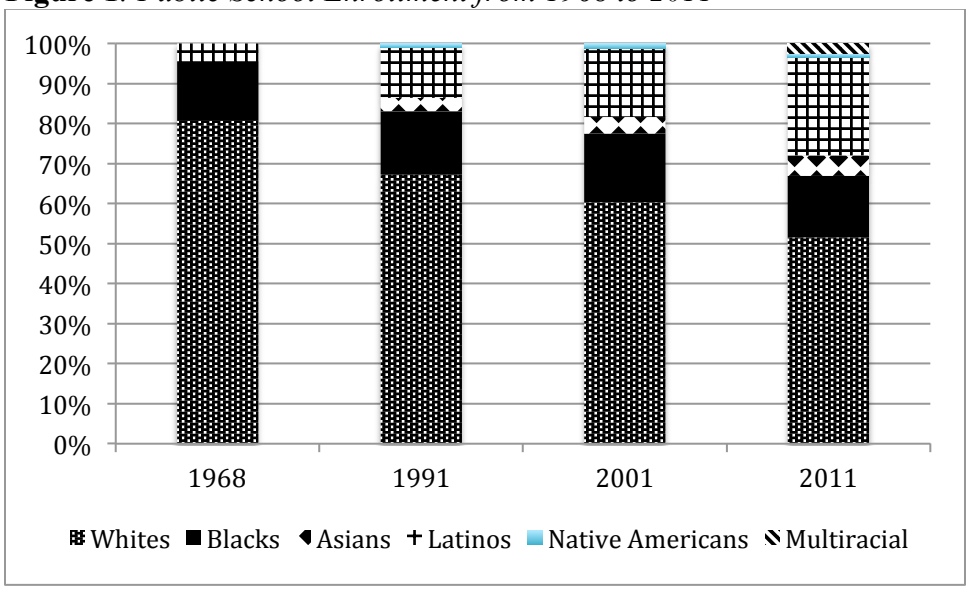
[2] For a more complete description of these issues see: G. Orfield, G Siegel-Hawley and J. Kucsera, 2014 at http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/news/news-and-announcements/news-2014/crp-researchers-reaffirm-findings-of-increasing-segregation.

Table 1: *Public School Enrollment Changes, 1968-2011 (In Millions)*

	1968	1991	2001	2011	Change from 1968-2011 (% Change)	Change from Past Decade (% Change)
Whites	34.7	25.4	28.6	25.1	-9.6 (-27.7%)	-3.5 (-12.2%)
Blacks	6.3	6.0	8.1	7.5	1.2 (19.0%)	-0.6 (-7.4%)
Asians	----	1.3	2.0	2.5	----	0.5 (25.0%)
Latinos	2.0	4.7	8.1	11.9	9.9 (495.0%)	3.8 (46.9%)
Native Americans	----	0.4	0.6	0.5	----	-0.1 (16.7%)
Multiracial	----	----	----	1.2	----	----

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data. Data prior to 1991 obtained from the analysis of the Office of Civil Rights data in Orfield, G. (1983). *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980.* Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Figure 1*: Public School Enrollment from 1968 to 2011*



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data. Data prior to 1991 obtained from the analysis of the Office of Civil Rights data in Orfield, G. (1983). *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980.* Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies.

The changes occurring throughout in the nation appear in even more dramatic form in some of its regions. By far the most populous regions of the country, where the great bulk of American growth is concentrated, are the South and the West. For generations, the growth of the country has been focused on these Sunbelt areas. Both of these regions now have substantial majorities of "minority" students. The West has only 40% white students and the South only 45%.

Whites are the largest of several minority groups in the South but, in an astonishing change in this historically black-white region, there are now more southern Latinos than blacks, due to massive levels of Latino immigration into traditionally biracial areas. A region that has always been home to the majority of blacks and that is far from solving the issues of black-white inequality now faces more complex educational challenges to successfully educate each group of students and to help deepen understanding among them.

In the West, whites are only the second largest minority group, following Latinos, who account for 41% of students in the region. The black population in the West is only 5%, compared to its 8% Asian enrollment, making this clearly a four-race region. When *Brown* was decided, the West was an overwhelmingly white area. The huge changes have produced profound inequality and continuous change within a very complex multiracial setting.

With 68% white students, the Midwest is the whitest region in the country. It is lagging in rate of racial change, partially because it is a slow-growth region with limited job opportunities. Chicago is a significant exception to the rest of the Midwest, and areas with substantial economic growth, including traditionally homogeneous metros like Minneapolis-St. Paul, are becoming substantially more diverse.

The Border region, the historically segregated states between Oklahoma and Delaware that were not part of the old Confederacy, are 64% white. Although the Northeast has 60 percent white students, all of these regions are continuing to change, especially due to growing Latino enrollment. Some of the most extreme segregation takes place in regions where there is considerable racial diversity.

Our two youngest, noncontiguous states, Hawaii and Alaska have the most distinctive populations. Hawaii has only 14% white students and 68% Asians, while Alaska has 48% white and 25% native students. In addition to the large share of native students in Alaska, American Indian students account for 3% of Border state students (mainly in Oklahoma) and for about 2% of the students in the West. The country has become richly multiracial; 8% of the students in Hawaii and Alaska are reported as multiracial.

All of these numbers should be taken with some caution, particularly in comparison to earlier data, since the way in which students were counted was changed during the Bush Administration and the newest federal data is the first to fully reflect those changes. The procedures were changed in ways that increased the number of Latinos and tended to reduce the number and share of whites, blacks and Indians, because non-Latinos who reported more than one race were classified as multiracial, no matter how they might identify themselves, yet Latinos, most of whom come from multiracial societies with very large mixed race populations, were not counted in the multiracial column. Senator Barack Obama was one of many members of Congress who objected to this plan, which was strongly criticized in a Civil Rights Project report.[3]

[3] Lee, C., & Orfield, G. (2006). *Data Proposals Threaten Education and Civil Rights Accountability*. Cambridge, MA: Civil Rights Project.

Table 2*: Public School Enrollment by Race/Ethnicity and Region, 2011-2012*

	Total Enrollment	% White	% Black	% Asian	% Latino	% Native American	% Multiracial
South	15,957,201	44.7%	24.1%	3.1%	25.3%	0.5%	2.3%
West	11,310,045	40.2%	5.3%	8.3%	41.4%	1.7%	3.1%
Northeast	7,731,000	60.1%	14.4%	6.4%	17.3%	0.3%	1.4%
Border	3,548,325	63.7%	19.1%	2.8%	8.2%	3.4%	2.8%
Midwest	9,451,340	68.1%	13.5%	3.1%	11.2%	0.9%	3.1%
Alaska	113,093	48.2%	3.7%	8.7%	6.4%	25.3%	7.6%
Hawaii	182,529	14.3%	2.4%	68.1%	6.4%	0.5%	8.2%
Other	489,846	0.2%	2.5%	8.4%	88.6%	0.1%	0.2%
US Total	48,783,379	51.5%	15.4%	5.1%	24.3%	1.1%	2.5%

Note: Our definition of the regions is as follows: **South**: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia; **Border**: Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia; **Northeast**: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont; **Midwest**: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin; **West**: Arizona, California, Colorado, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data, *2011-12.*

Given the vast changes in U.S. school enrollment, even if there were a perfectly even distribution of students from all racial groups, there would still be a decline in contact by students of other races with whites, because the share of the total who are white has declined substantially. There would also be a very substantial increase in contact with Latinos, because their share of the total has increased. The same assignment process within a school district produces schools with higher Latino enrollment and lower white enrollment, as the patterns of birthrates and migration change.

Progress and its unraveling in the South

We begin this examination with a look at the access of southern black students to white schools in the South over sixty years. These schools, in the states with segregation based on law, were the focus of the *Brown* decision. The eleven southern states with such laws have always enrolled the clear majority of the black children in the country.[4] Since there have been a multitude of claims about whether or not *Brown* made any difference, examining the patterns of Southern blacks is critical to assessing these claims.

Obviously in l954, when the decision came down, there was no black access to white schools; apartheid was still in effect. Six years later, one black student in a thousand in the region was integrated. By 1964, it was one in 50 (Table 3). Access to such schools increased very

[4] The six Border region states also segregated students by law in addition to the eleven southern states of the former Confederacy.

dramatically in the next six years and continued to grow gradually, until l988. Beginning in the l990s, this access to white schools began to decline. Throughout the l980s there was a strong legal attack on desegregation orders, led by the Reagan and Bush administrations' Justice Departments and, in l991, the Supreme Court authorized the termination of desegregation plans in the Oklahoma City (*Dowell*) decision. The decline in black student access has been continuous since l991.

At the peak, 44% of black southern students were in majority-white schools, the kind of schools that provided strong potential opportunities for diverse learning experiences. By 2011, that number had declined to 23%, a drop by nearly half, and the decline has accelerated in recent years. The progress achieved in the last 46 years on this measure of segregation is gone. The percentage of students in majority white schools is lower than it was in 1968, the year the Supreme Court's *Green* decision required districts to dismantle dual segregated systems "root and branch".

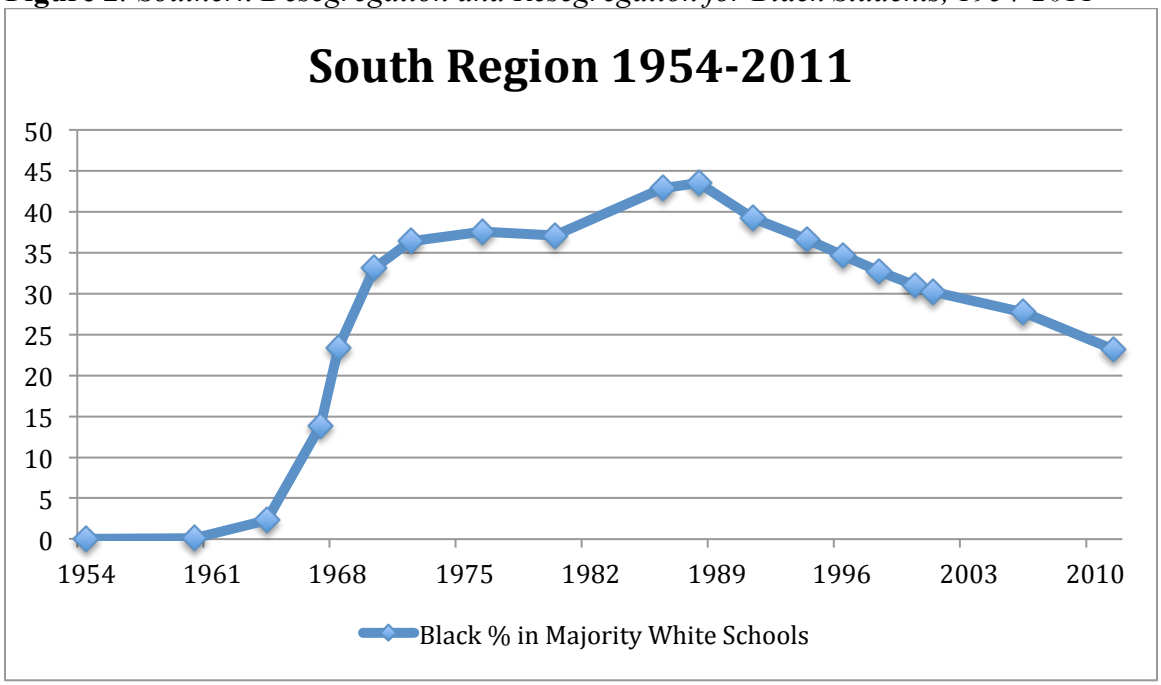
Table 3*: Percent of Black Students in Majority White Schools, 1954-2011*

Year	Percent Black Students in Majority White Schools
1954	0
1960	0.1
1964	2.3
1967	13.9
1968	23.4
1970	33.1
1972	36.4
1976	37.6
1980	37.1
1986	42.9
1988	43.5
1991	39.2
1994	36.6
1996	34.7
1998	32.7
2000	31.0
2001	30.2
2006	27.7
2011	23.2

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data. Data prior to 1991 obtained from the analysis of the Office of Civil Rights data in Orfield, G. (1983). *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980.* Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies.

In considering Figure 2, three dates deserve special attention. 1964 was the year the Civil Rights Act was passed and serious federal enforcement began; desegregation soared. In l969, President Nixon took office, and enforcement of the Civil Rights Act was sharply curtailed. There were, however, new Supreme Court decisions requiring urban desegregation in 1971 and 1973. In l991, the Supreme Court made its key decision about the termination of desegregation orders. Each of these events is clearly related to a change in the velocity of desegregation and resegregation (Figure 2).

Figure 2*: Southern Desegregation and Resegregation for Black Students, 1954-2011*



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data. Data prior to 1991 obtained from the analysis of the Office of Civil Rights data in Orfield, G. (1983). *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980.* Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies.

It is important to note that the South is still very different than during the era of total segregation that existed before *Brown*. The claims that black students in the South are no better off than they were before *Brown,* in terms of segregation, are obviously wrong. They are ten times as likely to be in majority-white schools as they were when the l964 Civil Rights Act was passed. There was very dramatic change in the mid- to late l960s and increasing desegregation through the 1970s and most of the 1980s. The reality is that segregation has been increasing since l990, for almost a quarter century, and that today black students are substantially more segregated than they were in l970. The direction of change, however, suggests that things will continue to worsen. In the following segments of the report we will examine changes in the Southern Region, as they occurred over time and in comparison to other regions of the country.

National Trends in Segregation

At a national level, the typical white student is now in a school whose student composition is nearly three-fourths white, one-eighth Latino and one-twelfth black (Table 4). That is, in a classroom of 30 students, the classmates of the typical white student would include 22 whites, 2 blacks, 4 Latinos, one Asian and one "Other."[5] On the other hand, the typical black or Latino student would have 8 white classmates and at least 20 black and/or Latino classmates. The typical Asian student would have 12 white classmates and 7 Asian classmates, meaning about two-thirds of the classmates of the Asian student would be from groups with higher average parent education levels, higher incomes and considerably higher levels of test scores. These data begin to sketch out the divergence in the experience of different student groups. The typical Latino student is now in a school that is 57 % Latino, more segregated than black students are with fellow blacks and second only to whites in the level of in-group isolation. Nationally black students are in schools that are already more than one-sixth Latino, with much higher ratios in some regions. This means that thinking about relationships between African Americans and Latinos sharing the same schools is increasingly important.

Table 4*: Racial Composition of Schools Attended by the Average Student of Each Race, 2011-12*

Percent Race in Each School	**Racial Composition of School Attended by Average:**			
	White Student	**Black Student**	**Asian Student**	**Latino Student**
% White	72.5%	27.6%	38.9%	25.1%
% Black	8.3%	48.8%	10.7%	10.9%
% Asian	3.9%	3.6%	24.5%	4.7%
% Latino	11.8%	17.1%	22.1%	56.8%
% Other	3.5%	2.9%	3.8%	2.5%

Note: Other represents students who identified as Native American or Multiracial.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data, *2011-12.*

Since the middle of the twentieth century there has been a great deal of concern about the inequality in overwhelmingly minority, highly impoverished, central city school systems, but there has been little direct experience of this by the large majority of metropolitan whites who have long lived in the suburbs. Now suburbs, metropolitan areas, and entire regions of the country are going through huge demographic changes that are unprecedented in American history, creating a different and far more complex educational reality.

In the nation's most populous metropolitan areas, Latinos now comprise the largest share of central city public school enrollment, 42% (see Table 5). These cities, many of which were

[5] These numbers are rounded to the nearest whole number, and this illustration assumes that all students in a school were randomly assigned by race. In fact, unequal distribution among teachers and classes often makes these figures more lopsided.

predicted to become almost totally black at the time of the civil rights revolution, are now on average little more than one-fourth black (27%), one-fifth white, and 8% Asian. The suburban rings of these largest metros, regions of overwhelmingly white schools, are now only half white, and that ratio is steadily declining. So, instead of the "chocolate city, vanilla suburb" of that era,[6] we now have diverse multihued cities and checkerboard suburbs in our largest metropolitan regions. Understanding of these trends and their implications, coupled with the development of policy and training, has not kept pace with what have been unprecedented and rapid changes -- changes that are still very much in motion. It remains true that blacks, Latinos and Asians are all larger shares of central city than suburban enrollments in these large metropolitan areas.

In midsize metros and small metros there is still a white plurality in central city schools, with whites accounting for a third of the enrollment in midsize and almost half the enrollment in the central cities of small metros. In each, there are substantially more Latinos than blacks in the central city schools. The suburban rings in midsize and small metros have a clear white majority; both have more than a fifth Latinos and almost a tenth African Americans. The racial composition of towns that are not part of metro areas is quite similar to that of the suburbs of smaller metros. These are the places likely to have a white majority in public schools for some time into the future.

Although blacks and Latinos were once strongly concentrated in rural labor, that is long past. Rural areas have the highest percentage of white public school enrollments (70%), and the smallest Latino presence (14%); they are about one-tenth African American.

Obviously these are overall percentages for many different places, and there are exceptions to these general trends. In south Texas and some parts of California, for instance, there are rural areas that are almost entirely Latino, just as there are many areas in the Deep Southern states that are predominantly black. In northern New England, parts of the upper Midwest and Rocky Mountains, and other areas, there are heavily white central cities. And if we look at some regions in California and Hawaii, we find very heavily Asian communities. But the overall percentages show a dramatic pattern. For educators thinking about working in central cities, there is a clear need to understand Latinos. This means they need to think about conditions in which large shares of students come from homes where the basic language is not English, and they need to think hard about relationships between Latino and African American students. For those planning to work in the suburbs, they need to understand that these are not the suburban societies of their parents' era, nor even of their own early years, and to understand that the suburbs will continue to change.

[6] Farley, R., et al., (1978). "Chocolate city, vanilla suburbs:" Will the trend toward racially separate communities continue? *Social Science Research 7*(4): 319-344.

Table 5*: Racial composition of public school enrollment by geography, 2011-12*

	% White	% Black	% Latino	% Asian
Large Metro				
Central City	20.3%	27.3%	41.5%	8.0%
Suburb	50.0%	14.6%	25.5%	6.7%
Midsize Metro				
Central City	33.3%	24.9%	31.5%	6.4%
Suburb	60.3%	9.6%	22.5%	3.9%
Small Metro				
Central City	45.6%	17.8%	26.7%	5.9%
Suburb	61.7%	9.3%	21.0%	4.6%
Other				
Towns	64.8%	10.5%	17.9%	2.4%
Rural Areas	69.8%	9.8%	13.7%	2.5%

Note: Large, midsize, and small metros refer to areas with populations of 250,000 or more, less than 250,000 but greater than or equal to 100,000, and less than 100,000, respectively. A central city refers to a territory inside an urbanized area and inside a principal city. A suburb refers to a territory outside a principal city but inside an urbanized area. Towns refer to territories inside an urban cluster. And rural areas refer to territories outside an urban cluster.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data, *2011-12.*

Regardless of geography, there are stark differences between whites and students of color in their levels of exposure to white students. Black and Latino students have especially low exposure to white students in largest metropolitan areas and in midsize central cities. Although white students have very high isolation with fellow whites in towns, students of color have quite low exposure to white students in these same areas. Blacks have substantially higher exposure rates than Latinos do in the suburbs, particularly in smaller metros. In non-metropolitan areas, white students show high levels of isolation, which means that they experience very little other-race exposure in their schools.

The experiences of blacks and Latinos are very different across city-suburb lines but also between the largest metros and those that are midsize or small. The typical black or Latino suburban student in the largest metros has lower exposure to white students than in the central cities of small metropolitan areas. Yet, within each metropolitan area, there is a substantial suburban advantage in exposure to white students, particularly for black students. In midsize and small metros, for example, the typical black suburban student attends a school that has almost half white students, on average. The typical black city student is attending a school that has, on average, less than half the community's proportion of white students (20% and 31%, respectively, for midsize and small metros). In the largest metros, black and Latino students living in the suburbs are in schools that are more than 70% nonwhite, on average, but they are far more segregated in the central cities, where nearly 90% of students are nonwhite.

As seen above in Table 4, Latino students had the lowest exposure to white students nationally. This trend is reflected in nearly every type of geographic category below. Except in central cities

of our largest metropolitan areas, Latinos have the lowest exposure to white students of any racial group. The fact that they are more segregated than African American students in the suburban rings of metropolitan areas of all sizes is striking.

Table 6*: Exposure Rates to Whites, by Racial Group and Metro Region, 2011-12*

	White / White	Black / White	Latino / White	Asian / White
Large Metro				
Central City	47.0%	11.7%	11.8%	21.5%
Suburb	69.8%	28.5%	24.7%	44.3%
Midsize Metro				
Central City	53.8%	20.4%	20.4%	35.4%
Suburb	73.3%	46.4%	33.3%	50.7%
Small Metro				
Central City	62.7%	31.1%	26.3%	40.8%
Suburb	74.5%	47.8%	35.0%	41.2%
Other				
Towns	77.9%	40.2%	37.5%	38.6%
Rural Areas	80.6%	44.7%	41.2%	53.8%

Note: Large, midsize, and small metros refer to areas with populations of 250,000 or more, less than 250,000 but greater than or equal to 100,000, and less than 100,000, respectively. A central city refers to a territory inside an urbanized area and inside a principal city. A suburb refers to a territory outside a principal city but inside an urbanized area. Towns refer to territories inside an urban cluster. And rural areas refer to territories outside an urban cluster.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data, *2011-12.*

One of the reasons that racial segregation is harmful is the strong connection between schools that concentrate black and Latino students and schools that concentrate low-income students. Prior Civil Rights Project reports have referred to this as double segregation (*e.g.,* segregation by race and class), and we continue to see the strong relationship between the two when examining segregation in schools in 2011-12. In 2011-12, 45.8% of all public school students were classified as low-income, meaning that they were eligible for free and/or reduced lunch.[7]

In schools that are 81-100% black & Latino, over three-quarters of the students are also enrolled in schools where more than 70% of the students live in poverty. In fact, half of students in 91-100% black & Latino schools are in schools that also have more than 90% low-income students. This means that these students face almost total isolation not only from white and Asian students but also from middle class peers as well. These figures represent extreme overlaps of poverty and racial concentration and help to explain why schools with high concentrations of black and Latino students often have fewer educational resources and lower student outcomes. Though

[7] While there have always been concerns about the representativeness of using free/reduced lunch eligibility as a measure of student poverty, recent legislation to provide meals to all students in high-poverty school may further obscure efforts to use this to measure student poverty. See http://www.school-diversity.org/pdf/CEP_Letter_for_ED_3-13-14.pdf for further information.

these schools account for a small fraction of all schools, they serve substantial shares of students from both groups.

By contrast, many students whose schools have more white and Asian students are attending schools alongside far fewer low-income students. Of students attending schools that are overwhelmingly white and Asian (0-10% black & Latino schools), only 4% have 80% or more students living in poverty. Seventy percent of students enrolled in schools with less than 20% black and Latino enrollment are also in schools where fewer than half of the students are low-income; this figure includes approximately one-quarter of students who are enrolled in schools with fewer than 20% low-income and black and Latino students. Because nearly half of all schools are less than 20% black and Latino (and one third of schools have a tenth or less black & Latinos students), the relatively low poverty concentrations in such schools means that low-income students are instead concentrated in schools with higher shares of black & Latino students.

In many respects, the schools serving white and Asian students and those serving black and Latino students represent two different worlds. There are relatively few majority black and Latino schools that are solidly middle class. Table 7 shows that there are a significant minority (one-ninth to one-sixth poor children) in the whitest (80% or greater) schools and a tiny minority (1-2% non-poor children) in the schools with the highest black and Latino percentages.

Table 7*: Relationship Between Segregation by Race and by Poverty, 2011-12*

% Poor in Schools	**Percent Black and Latino Students in Schools**									
	0-10%	**11-20%**	**21-30%**	**31-40%**	**41-50%**	**51-60%**	**61-70%**	**71-80%**	**81-90%**	**91-100%**
0-10	11.4	10.0	3.6	1.9	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.9	2.1	2.2
11-20	11.8	16.2	11.3	4.2	2.8	1.9	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.3
21-30	13.4	14.7	14.4	10.1	5.2	3.7	2.5	2.2	1.7	1.5
31-40	16.1	15.0	15.2	14.8	10.7	7.2	4.8	2.7	2.2	1.8
41-50	16.3	14.3	15.5	16.5	15.1	12.7	8.6	4.9	3.0	2.4
51-60	13.4	12.7	14.9	17.1	16.7	16.9	13.4	8.0	4.6	3.5
61-70	9.0	9.3	12.5	15.7	19.1	17.8	18.5	15.5	9.2	5.4
71-80	4.7	4.7	7.7	11.3	16.0	18.8	20.8	22.0	18.3	10.5
81-90	2.0	1.9	3.4	5.7	8.7	13.2	17.5	23.2	29.3	20.6
91-100	1.9	1.2	1.5	2.6	3.4	5.6	10.0	17.0	28.0	50.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
% of US Schools	33.2	13.9	9.0	6.9	5.9	4.9	4.4	4.2	5.0	12.7

Note: Excluded schools with 0% FRL (Free and Reduced Lunch) students.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data, *2011-12.*

The experience of black students

If *Brown* and the Civil Rights Act were aimed at reducing racially concentrated minority schools, then the drop in black students enrolled in such schools seen in most regions since 1968 indicates

success in achieving this goal, particularly in the South where most desegregation cases were filed. Outside of the Northeast, which has experienced steady increases in the percentage of black students in 90-100% minority schools, the share of black students in more than 90 percent minority schools remains lower in 2011 than in 1968, even with the reversals of civil rights gains in recent decades. Many of the changes accomplished in the civil rights era have had some enduring impact.

Since 1968, the most striking changes that have occurred in the South have been the dramatic decline in the percentage of black students in 90-100% minority schools, followed, more recently, by the subsequent rise in the number of students attending these segregated schools. Yet, as of 2011, the South, which has over half of all black students in the US, was still the region of the country with the lowest percentage of students in intensely segregated 90-100% minority schools. Reflecting the slow pace of progress in *Brown*'s immediate aftermath, more than three out of four black students in the South attended racially concentrated minority schools in 1968. Twenty years later, after many southern districts had implemented comprehensive desegregation plans, fewer than one in four black students was enrolled in such intensely segregated schools. Thus, in a brief period of time as a result of court oversight and enforcement actions stemming from *Brown* and the Civil Rights Act, respectively, dramatic changes for black students were seen in the South where most action was targeted.

The South was not alone in having majorities of black students attending 90-100% minority schools in 1968, though in no other region was black segregation as extensive as in the South. Likewise, except for the Northeast, which in 1968 had the lowest percentage of black students in racially concentrated minority schools, all other regions experienced declines, through 1991, in the percentage of black students in these highly segregated schools.. These declines were not as substantial as those in the South, nor did segregation levels fall as low as in the South.

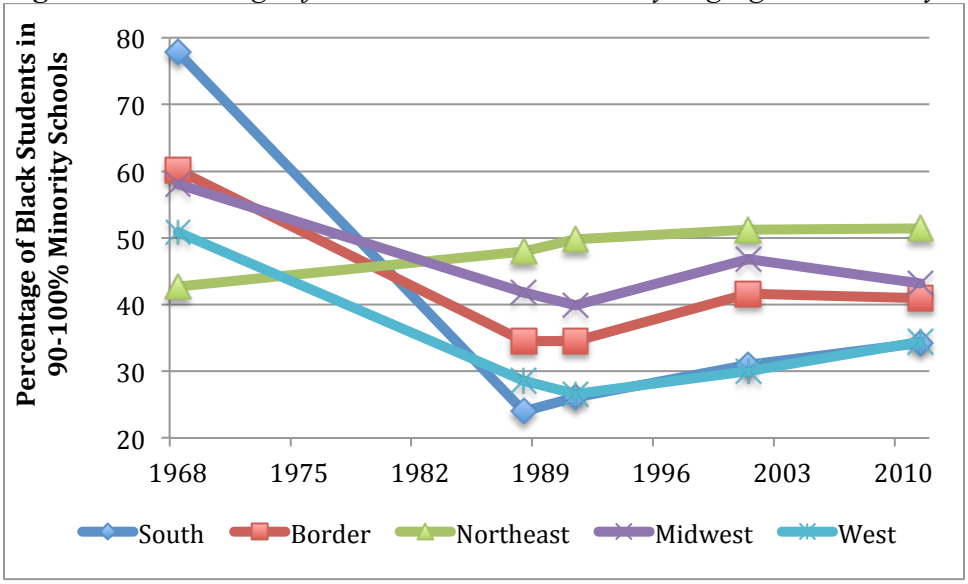
All regions have experienced an increase in the percentage of black students in 90-100% minority schools since 1991, and the two most populous, diverse regions—the South and the West—have witnessed the sharpest increases in the shares of black students attending intensely segregated schools. In the South, there has been more than an 8 percentage point increase in the share of black students attending racially isolated minority schools since 1991. In 2011, more than one in three black students attended 90-100% minority schools. In the West, the increase was slightly less than 8 percentage points during the last two decades, including more rapid increases for black students in the West in the last decade studied. While the Northeast rates of segregation have stabilized, since 2001, more than half of black students in the region attended 90-100% minority schools, despite the fact that 60% of students in the region are white. Encouragingly, during the last decade, the percentage of black students in segregated schools in the Midwest has declined, and there have also been minor declines in black student segregation in the Border region during this time period.

Table 8: *Percentage of Black Students in 90-100% Minority Schools, 1968, 1988, 1991, 2001, and 2011*

	1968	1988	1991	2001	2011	Change from 1968-2011 (% Change)	Change from Past Decade (% Change)
South	77.8	24.0	26.1	31.0	34.2	-43.6 (-56.0)	3.2 (10.3)
Border	60.2	34.5	34.5	41.6	41.0	-19.2 (-31.9)	-0.6 (-1.4)
Northeast	42.7	48.0	49.8	51.2	51.4	8.7 (20.4)	0.2 (0.4)
Midwest	58.0	41.8	39.9	46.8	43.2	-14.8 (-25.5)	-3.6 (-7.7)
West	50.8	28.6	26.6	30.0	34.4	-16.4 (-32.3)	4.4 (14.7)

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data. Data prior to 1991 obtained from the analysis of the Office of Civil Rights data in Orfield, G. (1983). *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980.* Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Figure 3: *Percentage of Black Students in Intensely Segregated Minority Schools by Region*



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data. Data prior to 1991 obtained from the analysis of the Office of Civil Rights data in Orfield, G. (1983). *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980.* Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Except for Texas (in two of three categories), no Southern state is in the top five in terms of most segregated states for black students. Despite the recent reversals in segregation, this is another indication that the combined effects of *Brown* and the 1964 Civil Rights Act have resulted in durable improvement in the desegregation of southern schools for black students.

Many Deep Southern states and adjacent states are found in at least two measures of segregation here: Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Florida. Most of these states enroll a substantial share of black students; in many, blacks were at least one-third of their state enrollment. (Maryland, a Border state, also had a high percentage of black students.) Thus, the

fact that these states rank relatively high on segregation measures means that school segregation impacts substantial numbers of black students.

Most of the non-southern states listed had relatively small overall shares of black students (usually no larger than 20%), but the black enrollment might be clustered in overwhelmingly nonwhite urban districts, which influence a state's ranking. For example, New York City has a large share of New York State's black enrollment, as does Chicago for Illinois. Both of these urban districts have few white students.

In 4 states, a majority of black students attend intensely segregated 90-100% minority schools, and in all 20 states at least one in 4 black students in the state attends such intensely segregated schools.

When compared to similar state ranking tables from 1980, there is surprising stability in some of the states most segregated for black students (see Table A-2 in Appendix). In 1980, Illinois had the highest percentage of black students in 90-100% schools (67.7%), indicating that this measure has declined slightly over the last three decades, and black exposure to white students was 19%, which is higher than is the case today. New York was second and third, respectively, on these measures. Michigan, like Illinois, was ranked highly in 1980 as well as 2011, but the changes in segregation measures reflect a slight lessening in the extent of segregation for black students, which may be a reflection of black suburbanization in the Detroit metropolitan area.

However, Maryland, which now ranks among the most segregated states on each of the three measures, was not nearly as segregated in 1980 for black students. Then, 30% of black students were in intensely segregated black schools, compared to 53% today, and black exposure to whites was almost twice what it was in 2011. (It was 35.4% in 1980.) Indeed the gains in Maryland are reflective of those in many of the southern states. For example, a number of southern states have had a substantial increase in the percentage of black students in intensely segregated minority schools since 1980: Mississippi, +9 percentage points; Tennessee, +15 percentage points; Texas, +9 percentage points; Georgia, +16 percentage points; Alabama, +10 percentage points, Florida, +17 percentage points; and Arkansas, +21 percentage points. Having experienced a decline in the percentage of black students in 90-100% minority schools, Louisiana is the notable exception to this regional pattern, perhaps reflecting the post-Katrina exodus from New Orleans.

For a number of years before serious resegregation began, there were no Southern states among the ten most segregated states for black students in our measures. Considering that the South had a much higher proportion of black enrollment than northern and western states and that its schools were completely segregated schools in the mid-twentieth century, this was a remarkable accomplishment. Now there are a number of Southern states on the list, reflecting a reversal of this progress.

Table 9*: Most Segregated States for Black Students, 2011-12*

Rank	% Black in Majority White Schools		% Black in 90-100% Minority Schools		Black Exposure to White Students	
1	California	8.0%	New York	64.6%	New York	16.7%
2	Texas	13.1%	Illinois	61.3%	Illinois	17.9%
3	New York	13.3%	Maryland	53.1%	California	18.1%
4	Maryland	14.0%	Michigan	50.4%	Maryland	19.5%
5	Nevada	14.6%	New Jersey	48.5%	Texas	21.8%
6	Illinois	14.8%	Pennsylvania	46.0%	New Jersey	23.8%
7	Connecticut	18.5%	Mississippi	45.3%	Georgia	24.7%
8	Georgia	19.5%	California	45.3%	Mississippi	25.6%
9	New Jersey	20.8%	Tennessee	44.8%	Michigan	26.3%
10	Florida	20.9%	Wisconsin	43.4%	Nevada	27.1%
11	Mississippi	22.9%	Texas	42.7%	Florida	27.7%
12	Michigan	25.1%	Georgia	42.0%	Tennessee	28.2%
13	Tennessee	25.3%	Alabama	41.8%	Connecticut	29.2%
14	North Carolina	26.6%	Missouri	40.8%	Pennsylvania	29.3%
15	Indiana	28.0%	Ohio	37.1%	Wisconsin	30.1%
16	Ohio	28.1%	Florida	34.0%	Alabama	30.3%
17	Pennsylvania	28.1%	Connecticut	29.8%	Ohio	30.6%
18	Wisconsin	28.2%	Louisiana	29.6%	Louisiana	31.2%
19	Louisiana	28.6%	Indiana	27.4%	Missouri	32.8%
20	Virginia	28.9%	Arkansas	26.8%	Indiana	33.4%

Note: The calculations for this state table do not include Hawaii, Alaska, or any other state with less than 5% black. District of Columbia was not counted as a state, but the district had the highest segregation rates across all three indicators.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data, *2011-12.*

Many of the states that rank high on the measures of most integrated for black students are states that are also very high in white percentage of students. Typically they are Midwest or Border states, such as West Virginia and Iowa, each with only 5% black students. (To be included in this analysis, the state had to have at least 5% black students.) Despite the relatively high percentage of white students in the Northeast, none ranks as providing the most integrated experiences for black students, possibly due to the high fragmentation and residential segregation in this region.

The inclusion of several states on these lists may reflect current or past widespread desegregation efforts. Kentucky's largest district, Jefferson County, includes Louisville and much of its surrounding suburbs in a single district, which enrolls the largest share of black students in the state. Jefferson County has had a very long, successful integration effort, first, as a result of court order and now due to a policy that is being voluntarily implemented by the school board. In Nebraska, more than a dozen districts in metropolitan Omaha have combined to create the Learning Community, which tries to create more economically diverse schools. And in Delaware, metropolitan Wilmington was merged into four city-suburban districts, as a result of a desegregation case. Although the case has since ended, the restructured boundary lines may help to sustain higher levels of desegregation for black students.

Despite being considered "most integrated," Table 10 shows that, in all but a handful of states, this is also far from being a widespread reality for black students. Only four states have less than one-tenth of blacks in 90-100% schools. Additionally, only 3 states have a majority of black students in predominantly white schools. Thus, even in some of the states ranked best in terms of segregation rates for black students, the majority of their students are attending predominantly nonwhite schools.

Table 10*: Most Integrated States for Black Students, 2011-12*

Rank	% Black in Majority White Schools		% Black in 90-100% Minority Schools		Black Exposure to White Students	
1	West Virginia	92.6%	West Virginia	0.0%	West Virginia	76.9%
2	Iowa	67.7%	Kentucky	2.4%	Iowa	59.7%
3	Kentucky	61.1%	Iowa	2.4%	Kentucky	55.5%
4	Minnesota	47.2%	Kansas	7.8%	Kansas	44.4%
5	Kansas	42.7%	Nebraska	11.8%	Minnesota	44.2%
7	Nebraska	36.6%	Delaware	13.4%	Nebraska	42.3%
8	Delaware	35.9%	Oklahoma	14.5%	Delaware	40.1%
9	Missouri	34.4%	Virginia	16.7%	South Carolina	37.3%
10	South Carolina	33.5%	Minnesota	17.2%	Oklahoma	37.2%
11	Arizona	32.3%	South Carolina	18.2%	Massachusetts	35.8%
12	Alabama	31.5%	North Carolina	19.6%	Arizona	35.8%
13	Rhode Island	31.4%	Nevada	19.7%	Rhode Island	35.3%
14	Massachusetts	30.8%	Arizona	20.8%	Virginia	35.2%
15	Oklahoma	30.4%	Rhode Island	24.2%	North Carolina	34.1%
16	Arkansas	29.7%	Massachusetts	25.4%	Arkansas	33.9%
17	Virginia	28.9%	Arkansas	26.8%	Indiana	33.4%
18	Louisiana	28.6%	Indiana	27.4%	Missouri	32.8%
19	Wisconsin	28.2%	Louisiana	29.6%	Louisiana	31.2%
20	Pennsylvania	28.1%	Connecticut	29.8%	Ohio	30.6%

Note: The calculations for this state table do not include Hawaii or Alaska. States with fewer than 5% blacks are omitted.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data, *2011-12.*

Latino Students

The trends in segregation of Latino students show extremely dramatic changes, particularly in the West, the historic center of Latino population. Latinos are not only, by a very large margin, the largest nonwhite group of students in the region, but now even outnumber whites. Millions of young Latinos have immigrated to the U.S. since the l960s and formed large families, even though white and black birthrates plummeted during this time. Taken together, these demographic trends have caused a historic transformation of the nation's school age population.

Although they have been a highly metropolitan population, originally heavily concentrated in Texas and the Southwest, as well as in the greater New York, Chicago and Miami areas, Latinos are now spreading out in secondary migrations to many parts of the U.S. Historically Latino (overwhelmingly Mexican-origin) population was greatly concentrated in the states bordering Mexico, (that is, the states that had been part of Mexico before their conquest in the Mexican-American War). South Texas, along the Rio Grande Valley, has long been the most overwhelmingly Latino region in the U.S. The great migration from the l970s onward was heavily focused on large metro areas. Chicago, long the greatest center of U.S. industrialization and transportation, drew in a large early Latino settlement, attracted by jobs in the railroads, steel furnaces, stockyards and by other kinds of heavy labor. Beginning in the l940s, a large immigration from Puerto Rico made New York a major center for Latinos. Greater Miami, very close to Cuba, was similarly transformed by the refugees from the Cuban revolution in the 1950s.

Apart from the Cuban migration, these were migrations dominated by poor people with low education levels. In the Southwest, many crossed a very long barrier along the frontier of two countries with extreme differences in wage levels. A young population, frequently using Spanish as the home language and experiencing growing residential isolation, has had truly massive impacts on public schools, particularly in the West and the South, but now, increasingly, in all regions.

From the beginnings of this large migration to New York, Puerto Rican immigrants experienced levels of segregation much higher than Latinos elsewhere in the U.S., patterns much more similar to those experienced by U.S. blacks than to those of Latinos in the Southwest. The view of demographers was that, apart from this anomaly, the Latino experience was much more likely to be similar to that of the European immigrants than to the black experience of ghettoization and intense educational segregation.[8]

At the time of *Brown* and for years afterwards, extremely little attention was given to Latino segregation, literally impossible to measure until 1968, because in many areas Latinos were not counted. In the late l960s, the federal government, implementing the l964 Civil Rights Act, required school districts to count and report Latino enrollments. Not until l980 did the U.S. Census collect systematic national population statistics on Latinos. Latino status is not a race in

[8] D. Massey and N. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, l993, pp. 77, 113 145-6; Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, *Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change.* New York: Atheneum, l969, pp. 64-70.

the Census; it is an ethnicity. Millions of Latinos have given their race as "white," even though the major sending regions – Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean – have heavily mestizo populations.

The history of Latino segregation was different. Southern states had state constitutions mandating segregation of blacks but not Latinos, though in Texas and the Southwest there were often separate schools, classrooms, and separate curricula for Latinos—the notorious 'Mexican rooms.' Before *Brown*, there had been several court cases in the Southwest holding that policies segregating Latinos violated their legal rights. The first federal court decision came in the l947 *Mendez* case from Southern California. Nevertheless, many local policies tended to strongly reinforce segregation.

In the civil rights era, most of the desegregation effort was concentrated in the seventeen states with a history of *de jure* segregation. Only two of these states, Texas and Florida, then had substantial Latino populations and, in Florida, they were concentrated heavily in the Greater Miami area. There was no coherent understanding of how Latinos related to segregation and desegregation issues. In both Miami and Houston, for example, local school authorities proposed desegregating blacks with Latinos, putting two disadvantaged groups into the same schools, thereby helping to shelter whites.

The Supreme Court did not settle the issue of Latinos' rights to desegregation and treatment as a group separate from blacks and whites until the l973 *Keyes* decision, which was never seriously enforced in most of the country. Almost all of the early desegregation plans in many of the l7 *de jure* states never had any provisions for desegregating Latinos, so those rights were ignored, even when the plans were later dismantled.

After the *Keyes* decisions, the only major plans that very substantially diminished Latino segregation for a significant period in a state came in Denver and Las Vegas (Clark County, Nevada). Latinos were included in the very limited plan in Los Angeles, in the federal court orders in San Jose and San Francisco, and in various state court or U.S. Office for Civil Rights plans. These efforts had little impact on the isolation of Latino students, because the plans came too late. Central cities already had rapidly declining minorities of white students. Further, the desegregation plans implemented heavily relied on choice-based strategies, not mandatory student transfers nor boundary realignments, and these choice-based policies typically did not result in widespread desegregation of students.

With the vast increase of the Latino population, the school segregation of Latinos became much more severe, as areas of segregated housing spread, and white population dropped. Mexican Americans account for about two-thirds of the Latino enrollment in the U.S., and they have experienced the most dramatic increases in segregation. The changes are particularly dramatic in the West. Between 1968, when only one-ninth of Latino students were enrolled in intensely segregated schools, and 1988, their share had more than doubled (27.5%). The share of Latino students in 90-100% minority schools reached 45% of the total Western Latino enrollment by 2011. In 1968, Latinos in the West were only one-fourth as concentrated in intensely segregated schools as those in the Northeast, but now they are the most segregated. The South, clearly influenced by Texas, was much more segregated than the West for Latinos for the first quarter

century of this data, but that is no longer true. California, home to more than a fourth of the nation's Latino students, dominates this story.

Table 11*: Percentage of Latino Students in 90-100% Minority Schools, 1968, 1988, 1991, 2001, and 2011*

	1968	1988	1991	2001	2011	Change from 1968-2011 (% Change)	Change from Past Decade (% Change)
South	33.7	37.9	38.6	39.9	41.5	7.8 (23.1)	1.6 (4.0)
Border	---	---	11.0	14.2	20.0	---	5.8 (40.8)
Northeast	44.0	44.2	46.8	44.8	44.2	0.2 (0.5)	-0.6 (-1.3)
Midwest	6.8	24.9	20.9	24.6	26.2	19.4 (285.3)	1.6 (6.5)
West	11.7	27.5	28.6	37.4	44.8	33.1 (282.9)	7.4 (19.8)

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data. Data prior to 1991 obtained from the analysis of the Office of Civil Rights data in Orfield, G. (1983). *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980.* Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies.

At the state level, California's Latinos attended highly integrated schools in 1970 but, in 2011, they attended schools with a lower percent of white students than in any other state. The typical Latino student in California has only 16% white schoolmates, compared to 54% in 1970. Texas, like California, now has a majority Latino public school system and a much larger share of blacks than other Western states.

New York has been highly segregated for Latino students since data was first collected, ranking first on all three segregation measures in 1980; it remains in the top 5 on each measure in 2011. Some scholars thought that this was caused by the partially black ancestry of many Caribbean Latinos who settled in the New York region. Now, with the enormous increase in the segregation of Mexican-origin students, it is clear that that is a far too simple explanation. New York's Latino segregation figures are essentially unchanged from those in 1980 (see Table A-4 in Appendix). New Jersey has also remained high on the list of segregated states for Latino students, reflecting the outward movement first of Puerto Ricans, and later of Dominicans and others, from New York City.

New Mexico has always ranked high on these lists, simply because it has usually had the highest percentage of Latino population. This was primarily due to the fact it was originally part of Mexico and never experienced the vast immigration of whites from other parts of the U.S., a trend which kept California and Arizona overwhelmingly white for many decades.

Illinois ranks high on this list because of the great concentration of Latinos in metropolitan Chicago, the largest black and Latino populations between coasts. Chicago is a region which combines extremely high residential segregation and a metropolitan area fragmented into

hundreds of separate school districts with a sharply declining white share of the school age population.[9]

In comparing 2011 Latino segregation to that in 1980, some northeastern states like New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania have been similar in segregation measures (they were among the highest in 1980), and similar shares of Latinos in these states, for example, remained in intensely segregated schools in 2011. Connecticut, in fact, experienced a decline in the percentage of Latinos in 90-100% minority schools, perhaps as a result of the interdistrict metropolitan Hartford desegregation remedy. In other states, however, Latino segregation has increased dramatically. The percentage of Latino students in intensely segregated schools in California increased, since 1980, by 33 percentage points; Texas, 16 points; New Mexico, 17 points; Arizona, 27 points; and Georgia 25 points. There have been similar declines in Latino exposure to whites in many of these states during the same time period. These Latino destination states thus are concentrating Latino students in schools that are overwhelmingly composed of other Latino and/or black students and away from white students.

Table 12*: Most Segregated States for Latino Students, 2011-12*

Rank	% Latino in Majority White Schools		% Latino in 90-100% Minority Schools		Latino Exposure to White Students	
1	New Mexico	6.0%	New York	56.7%	California	15.9%
2	California	7.8%	California	55.4%	Texas	18.0%
3	Texas	11.0%	Texas	53.5%	New York	20.5%
4	New York	16.5%	Illinois	45.9%	New Mexico	21.2%
5	Nevada	17.2%	New Jersey	42.8%	Illinois	26.0%
6	Maryland	21.3%	Rhode Island	39.8%	New Jersey	26.4%
7	Arizona	21.4%	Arizona	39.4%	Arizona	26.6%
8	New Jersey	22.3%	Maryland	37.9%	Nevada	26.7%
9	Florida	22.7%	New Mexico	34.5%	Maryland	27.1%
10	Illinois	22.9%	Florida	30.1%	Rhode Island	28.0%
11	Rhode Island	23.6%	Pennsylvania	29.5%	Florida	29.0%
12	Connecticut	25.8%	Massachusetts	29.2%	Georgia	34.6%
13	Massachusetts	30.9%	Georgia	27.7%	Connecticut	35.1%
14	Georgia	31.3%	Nevada	22.7%	Massachusetts	35.1%
15	Delaware	33.7%	Connecticut	21.7%	Colorado	38.2%
16	Virginia	35.3%	Colorado	18.4%	Pennsylvania	39.2%
17	Colorado	36.0%	Washington	14.6%	Oklahoma	39.9%
18	Oklahoma	37.4%	Wisconsin	13.8%	Delaware	40.2%
19	Pennsylvania	39.4%	North Carolina	13.5%	Virginia	40.3%
20	North Carolina	40.7%	Michigan	12.7%	North Carolina	42.6%

Note: The calculations for this state table above do not include Hawaii, Alaska, or any other state with less than 5% Latino population. District of Columbia was not counted as a state, but the district had the highest segregated rates across all three indicators.

[9] For detailed new statistics on Latino segregation in California and North Carolina see reports at civilrightsproject.ucla.edu.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data, *2011-12.*

The most integrated states, for Latinos as for blacks, are states with relatively small proportions of Latinos and where the incidence of substantial growth has been quite recent. There are still a substantial number of states with very modest Latino enrollments, through strong migration continues into areas with growing economies. The top five most integrated areas are states with large majorities of white students. They are not states with a history of desegregation plans for Latinos, since they had very few Latinos in the civil rights era. They are states where the largest metros have little housing segregation of their small Latino populations. There is almost no intense school segregation for Latinos in this handful of states. This list shows that there are only 12 states with significant Latino population where most Latino students attend majority white schools. Although this is a list of the most integrated states for Latinos, seven of the states have more than a tenth of Latino students in intensely segregated schools.

Table 13*: Most Integrated States for Latino Students, 2011-12*

Rank	% Latino in Majority White Schools		% Latino in 90-100% Minority Schools		Latino Exposure to White Students	
1	Wyoming	97.4%	Idaho	0.1%	Wyoming	74.7%
2	Idaho	84.1%	Wyoming	0.2%	Idaho	66.6%
3	Iowa	66.9%	Utah	0.6%	Iowa	61.5%
4	Utah	65.6%	Oregon	1.3%	Utah	60.4%
5	Minnesota	64.1%	Iowa	2.1%	Minnesota	56.6%
6	Michigan	58.2%	South Carolina	4.6%	Michigan	54.7%
7	Wisconsin	57.0%	Arkansas	5.3%	Oregon	52.5%
8	Indiana	56.2%	Delaware	7.6%	Wisconsin	52.4%
9	Oregon	56.0%	Minnesota	7.8%	Indiana	52.2%
10	Arkansas	55.1%	Virginia	7.9%	Arkansas	51.1%
11	South Carolina	50.4%	Nebraska	8.0%	Tennessee	51.0%
12	Tennessee	50.3%	Oklahoma	8.5%	South Carolina	49.0%
13	Nebraska	45.0%	Kansas	9.2%	Nebraska	46.4%
14	Washington	44.9%	Tennessee	10.4%	Kansas	43.9%
15	Kansas	41.7%	Indiana	11.0%	Washington	43.3%
16	North Carolina	40.7%	Michigan	12.7%	North Carolina	42.6%
17	Pennsylvania	39.4%	North Carolina	13.5%	Virginia	40.3%
18	Oklahoma	37.4%	Wisconsin	13.8%	Delaware	40.2%
19	Colorado	36.0%	Washington	14.6%	Oklahoma	39.9%
20	Virginia	35.3%	Colorado	18.4%	Pennsylvania	39.2%

Note: The calculations for this state table do not include Hawaii or Alaska. States must have at least 5% of students who are Latino to be included.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data, *2011-12.*

Desegregation Plans Ended: Impact in the Unitary Status Districts

More than two decades ago a conservative Supreme Court began the process of dismantling desegregation plans operating in many school districts, especially in the South. In three major decisions in the l990s, the Supreme Court set the stage for turning authority back to local school districts and for not holding local districts responsible for the resulting growth of segregation, unless they said that the intent of their decisions was to produce segregation. Yet, in its 2007 decision, the Supreme Court overrode local authorities that wished to use popular controlled choice and magnet school policies to voluntarily integrate their schools, something the courts had long encouraged.

Unitary status is the legal term that is used when a district has been declared to have completely eradicated its system of dual or segregated schools, and, in the eyes of the court, is operating an integrated, unitary system. Once a district has been declared unitary, it is not subject to legal oversight to remedy segregation that remains or subsequently develops. As seen in the table, many of these districts were declared unitary after the 1991 *Dowell* decision, the Oklahoma City desegregation case in which the Supreme Court relaxed the standards required of districts to end desegregation compliance. The following list of districts declared unitary was taken from Stanford Prof. Sean Reardon's project examining approximately 1,000 districts, the vast majority of which were once subject to desegregation plans.[10] Some districts may not have been aware of the origin of their plans, prior to terminating them; this also may be true of the hundreds of districts in which desegregation efforts are on-going.[11]

This table of districts that terminated their desegregation plans, pursuant to judicial decisions or end of consent decrees, contains a variety of different kinds of districts: large urban-only districts, city-suburban countywide districts, and some countywide suburban-only districts. Many, but not all of them, are located in the South. They also have a range of dates from which they have been declared unitary. Further, this illustrates where unitary status was declared, but does not reflect whether districts are currently implementing any within-district or between district, voluntary integration policies. All of these differences are likely to influence the current patterns of segregation or integration within the district, and this variety alone shows how extensive the rollback of desegregation efforts has been in many large districts. Together, these 50 largest post-unitary status districts enrolled nearly 5 million students in 2011-12, including over 18% of black and Latino students in the country.

[10] Desegregation plans could have been developed as a result of a court order, as a consent decree, or as an agreement with the Office of Civil Rights.
[11] See Nikole Hannah-Jones, Lack of Order: The Erosion of a Once-Great Force for Integration (May 1, 2014) available at http://www.propublica.org/article/lack-of-order-the-erosion-of-a-once-great-force-for-integration

Table 14: *Changes in White Percentage of Enrollment and Black/Latino Exposure to Whites in Large Unitary Status Districts, 2001 and 2011*

District Name	State	Termination of Desegregation Plans (Year)	Total Enrollment	% White		Black Exposure to Whites		Latino Exposure to Whites	
				2001-2	**2011-2**	**2001-2**	**2011-2**	**2001-2**	**2011-2**
Miami-Dade County School District	FL	2001	345,621	10.8%	8.3%	6.4%	4.9%	10.5%	8.0%
Clark County School District	NV	Before 1990	310,159	47.8%	30.2%	39.1%	24.9%	35.1%	21.6%
Broward County School District	FL	1996	250,162	39.5%	26.0%	22.7%	15.6%	41.8%	28.0%
Houston ISD	TX	1983	199,674	9.6%	8.1%	6.2%	5.5%	6.5%	5.2%
Hillsborough County School District	FL	2001	192,566	50.7%	38.7%	38.5%	26.5%	44.2%	33.2%
Fairfax	VA	Before 1990	176,596	59.4%	43.5%	49.6%	35.6%	45.8%	34.0%
Palm Beach County School District	FL	1979	173,936	48.5%	36.1%	29.3%	20.9%	42.0%	30.5%
Dallas ISD	TX	1994	156,006	7.2%	4.7%	4.8%	3.1%	6.2%	3.9%
Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools	NC	2002	136,500	44.8%	32.4%	35.4%	19.9%	32.8%	21.4%
San Diego Unified	CA	1998	126,177	26.4%	23.0%	18.6%	14.7%	18.3%	15.9%
Duval County School District	FL	2001	122,858	49.5%	39.4%	35.3%	27.8%	55.2%	42.4%
Prince Georges County Public Schools	MD	2002	120,079	10.3%	4.6%	8.2%	3.8%	7.8%	4.4%
Baltimore County Public Schools	MD	Before 1990	101,285	59.5%	45.2%	31.0%	26.0%	59.9%	41.7%
Pinellas County School District	FL	2000	99,889	72.1%	59.7%	64.4%	41.5%	68.3%	56.4%
DeKalb County School System	GA	1996	97,478	12.1%	11.0%	6.7%	4.6%	15.3%	13.0%
Jefferson County	KY	2000	95,732	62.7%	50.9%	58.8%	44.9%	56.2%	44.7%
Polk County School District	FL	2000	92,960	62.9%	46.2%	60.6%	43.3%	55.1%	40.2%
Fulton	GA	2003	92,028	47.7%	33.1%	17.4%	12.0%	41.6%	29.1%
Austin ISD	TX	1983	84,923	32.5%	24.5%	18.4%	14.9%	20.6%	14.6%
Lee County (Fort Myers)	FL	1999	81,428	65.6%	48.0%	58.5%	34.4%	62.9%	42.8%
Fort Worth ISD	TX	1990	81,394	20.3%	13.5%	14.8%	10.2%	14.1%	10.2%
Denver County 1	CO	1995	77,939	21.0%	20.8%	18.9%	19.6%	13.4%	12.0%
Baltimore City Public School System	MD	Before 1990	76,699	10.6%	8.2%	5.8%	5.0%	30.9%	17.9%
Guilford County Schools	NC	1972	73,314	48.3%	37.8%	33.4%	26.8%	37.1%	28.3%
Greenville County School District	SC	1985	71,974	66.2%	59.0%	54.5%	49.0%	52.7%	48.1%

Mobile County School District	AL	1997	60,132	46.5%	43.5%	21.2%	21.8%	54.3%	52.2%
Chesterfield County	VA	1972	58,861	70.8%	55.6%	57.5%	43.4%	55.0%	40.5%
San Francisco Unified	CA	2005	54,338	10.5%	12.1%	7.6%	10.5%	7.5%	9.4%
Cumberland County Public Schools	NC	1978	52,917	42.2%	33.7%	35.7%	27.1%	38.2%	31.9%
Forsyth County Schools	NC	1984	52,572	52.8%	43.4%	38.0%	30.9%	42.2%	28.8%
Clayton County School District	GA	1977	51,018	19.3%	3.5%	17.4%	3.2%	18.7%	3.9%
Omaha	NE	1984	50,069	50.8%	33.3%	39.1%	28.8%	45.5%	24.8%
Columbus City School District	OH	1988	49,738	34.7%	27.2%	23.8%	17.5%	36.7%	26.9%
Henrico County	VA	1972	49,604	59.1%	44.8%	33.4%	23.8%	60.0%	43.4%
Boston	MA	1987	49,472	14.6%	13.2%	10.8%	8.8%	12.7%	10.7%
Atlanta	GA	1979	49,246	6.5%	13.2%	2.6%	4.6%	14.2%	21.4%
Klein ISD	TX	2008	45,882	57.8%	37.7%	33.4%	26.9%	41.7%	30.3%
Charleston County School District	SC	1994	44,058	39.0%	45.0%	24.3%	23.6%	35.1%	27.3%
Cleveland Municipal School District	OH	1998	42,550	18.8%	14.7%	9.2%	8.4%	34.4%	23.1%
Oklahoma City	OK	1991	42,373	30.4%	18.1%	20.8%	15.4%	29.9%	14.9%
District Of Columbia Pub Schools	DC	Before 1990	41,780	4.5%	11.2%	1.9%	5.0%	5.6%	9.2%
Marion County School District	FL	2007	41,264	69.0%	55.9%	62.0%	50.0%	65.3%	51.3%
Tulsa	OK	1983	41,199	43.1%	29.0%	30.2%	22.6%	42.5%	24.3%
Union County Public Schools	NC	1972	39,962	75.0%	67.9%	53.1%	51.2%	43.5%	45.3%
Escambia County School District	FL	2004	39,343	58.1%	50.3%	44.3%	39.0%	59.5%	48.1%
St. Lucie County School District	FL	1997	38,702	57.3%	39.7%	55.1%	35.5%	52.8%	38.3%
Sarasota	FL	1971	38,082	80.4%	66.5%	56.8%	49.3%	62.9%	58.0%
Corpus Christi ISD	TX	1992	37,681	21.4%	14.2%	19.6%	13.6%	17.6%	12.8%
Total			4,930,138						

Notes: This district list was adapted from Reardon, S.F., Grewal, E., Kalogrides, D., & Greenberg, E. (2012). *Brown* fades: The end of court-ordered school desegregation and the resegregation of American public schools. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*. We selected the largest fifty districts that had unitary status declared. For documentation regarding the list of unitary status districts, see http://cepa.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/Reardon%20et%20al%20District%20Court%20Ordered%20Desegregation%20Data%20Documentation.pdf.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data, *2001-02 and 2011-12*

In virtually every one of these post-unitary-status districts (except a few described below), black & Latino exposure to white students is lower in 2011-12 than it was in 2001-02. Additionally, in a majority of districts, black-white exposure in 2011-12 is lower than Latino-white exposure, and in some instances, the differences are fairly substantial.

In a handful of central city districts such as Atlanta or Washington, DC, the percentage of white students has risen slightly in the last decade, and with this, the exposure of black and Latino students to whites has also increased from previous extremely low levels. In these districts, black exposure to whites did not increase as much as the percentage of white students did, and blacks had lower exposure to whites than Latinos did. In other central city districts, like Miami, Houston, or Detroit, the percentage of white students fell to very low levels, as did black and Latino exposure to whites.

Major city-suburban countywide districts, historically, have been places of substantial interracial exposure, because they have contained large shares of both white and nonwhite students inside their district boundaries. In a number of the districts, however, black exposure to white students, in particular, has dropped markedly in the last decade. In most of them, the percentage of white students has also declined, which may reflect the movement of white families to suburbs further out than to those contained within these countywide systems. These changes do not stop with the termination of desegregation plans and partially reflect changing birth rates as well an in-migration of nonwhites. Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina for several decades was a leader in school desegregation efforts and argued at the unitary status hearing that the district should remain under court oversight because vestiges of discrimination remained. Nevertheless, the district was declared unitary in 2002. Since then, the percentage of white students has declined to less than one-third, and the black exposure to whites has fallen even more substantially. The typical black student was in a school that was 35% white the year that unitary status was declared, and today attends a school where less than one in five students is white.

Several of the post-unitary districts have witnessed substantial declines in white percentage, including large suburban districts.[12] Prince Georges County outside of Washington, DC and Clayton County outside of Atlanta, Georgia have very small percentages of white students in 2011-12. In fact, each district has less than 5% of students who are white— *less* than the central city districts in each of the metropolitan areas. Not surprisingly, black and Latino exposure to white students is also lower in these large suburban districts than in their respective central city districts. For example, black-white exposure is 3.8% in Prince Georges County, and Latino-white exposure is 4.4%. By comparison, black-white exposure in Washington, DC is 5.0% and Latino-white exposure is 9.2%.

In addition to examining the changes in exposure, it is also useful to compare the exposure to a district's white percentage, which indicates the "maximum" exposure for black and Latino students that would be expected were students perfectly integrated within that district. In several post-unitary districts, there is a substantial gap between the percentage of white enrollment and the exposure of black and Latino students to white students. Two examples for black students

[12] Frankenberg, E., & Orfield, G. (Eds.) (2012). *The Resegregation of Suburban Schools: A Hidden Crisis in American Education.* Harvard Education Press.

(but not Latino students) are Pinellas County, Florida and Henrico County, Virginia. In Pinellas County (which includes St. Petersburg, FL), for example, white students are nearly 60% of the enrollment, and Latino-white exposure is very similar at 56.4%. The typical black student in this district, however, attends a school that is only 41.5% white. While this is higher than many other districts, it is considerably lower than what would be expected under more integrated settings. Likewise, in Henrico County (just outside of Richmond City, Virginia), the black-white exposure is 23.8%, or more than twenty percentage points lower than the share of white enrollment in 2011-12.[13]

Jefferson County, Kentucky is an example of a district that has been declared unitary but is still seeking voluntarily to integrate its students. Although it has had to shift its student assignment plan to comply with the 2007 Supreme Court decision that struck down its earlier integration policy, it maintains a race-conscious, controlled choice policy for assigning students to schools. Over the last decade, the percentage of white students has declined (as has happened in virtually all major districts—desegregated or not), such that whites are only a slight majority in 2011-12. Likewise, black and Latino exposure to whites has also declined during this time. The typical black and Latino students attended schools in 2011-12 that were approximately 45% white on average. Particularly for black students, this is among the highest exposure to white students of any of the largest post-unitary districts.

Finally, it's important to note that some districts, even before unitary status, did not necessarily have fully integrated schools, because some had plans that either (i) weren't being followed, (ii) permitted the existence of some segregated schools, or (iii) had not been adapted in response to demographic changes in the districts. Thus, in a few places like Denver, Colorado or Mobile, Alabama, we see that Latino and/or black exposure to white students has increased in the last decade. Yet, these are districts that a decade ago, shortly after they had been declared unitary, already showed substantial segregation.

Recommendations

There has not been a major national study on school segregation, its costs, and solutions for almost 50 years, since the l967 report requested by President Johnson, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools*. There has never been one that seriously dealt with the problems of Latino segregation and multiracial schools, the intimate relationship between housing and school segregation and integration, nor the problems of massive racial change in suburbia. President Obama should commission such a report. If he does not, leading foundations should do it. There is no evidence that these problems are self-curing. In fact, evidence shows that they are a basic structure of intergenerational inequality.

Civil rights organizations need to develop new strategies and legal theories to end the reversal and restart the movement toward a successfully integrated, truly multiracial society, as was done by the NAACP and Howard University in the campaign that led to *Brown*. The steady

[13] Siegel-Hawley, G. (2014). Educational Gerrymandering? Race and Attendance Boundaries in a Racially Changing Suburb. *Harvard Educational Review 83*(3).

retrenchment of desegregation efforts began two decades after *Brown* and has now run twice as long as the period in which the Supreme Court announced and extended desegregation rights (1954-1974). While it is important to preserve what is possible of these gains, we must use new advances in social science understanding and contemporary demographics to shape new arguments that will be politically and legally persuasive.

In 2009, shortly after President Obama took office, a group of several dozen civil rights organizations formed the National Coalition for School Diversity (NCSD). The National Coalition for School Diversity includes leading civil rights organizations, such as the NAACP, Legal Defense Fund, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, American Civil Liberties Union, the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund and civil rights research centers at Harvard, UCLA, University of North Carolina, Berkeley, the University of Minnesota, and Columbia University. This coalition has met with leaders of the Obama Administration and it endorsed policy guidance about permissible policies from the Office for Civil Rights. It also appreciates the revival of civil rights enforcement. It has been successful, however, in its urging of the Administration to make integration a serious goal of education policy and research. The Administration has been bold in some objectives, such sa assessing teachers, but timorous in finding ways in which it could assist and promote integration efforts in states and districts.

A number of states played an important and positive role in the l960s and l970s but have disappeared from the field since then. There are elements of potential state initiatives that would be very helpful to many communities. States could give priority to actively recruiting and preparing more Latino and black teachers and administrators. They could mandate intercultural training of teachers in college and as part of on-going professional development. They could require that charter schools seek diversity, offer transportation and other civil rights policies. They could foster and incentivize regional collaboration. They could help racially changing communities. States play a major role in finance of affordable housing and should provide preference for residential developments that are diverse and that give access to strong and diverse schools.

Though education policy authority in the U.S. is fundamentally vested in state governments, and despite the fact that local districts hire and supervise the vast majority of educators and operate with considerable discretion, federal leadership has been very important in setting the equity agenda. With the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965 and the l964 Civil Rights Act, the federal role, including federal aid, expanded very rapidly with a central focus on equalizing educational opportunity for poor and minority students. Education policy shifted dramatically following the Reagan Administration's *A Nation at Risk* report in l983 and the adoption by almost all states of the report's agenda of increased testing and accountability. The policies followed since--and reaching an extreme form in the No Child Left Behind legislation of 2002--have assumed that segregation and poverty are not important. Instead these policies are based on the premise that setting demanding standards, coupled with harsh sanctions, can equalize schooling. Related to this has been a great enthusiasm for unregulated charter schools and choice. The Obama Administration's Race to the Top and waiver policies from NCLB standards, which no state was meeting, emphasized even more accountability pressures in

evaluating teachers and led to the rapid expansion of charters. Within this policy framework, issues of segregation have been virtually ignored in education policy.

In a period in which Congress has been unable to enact a major federal education law since 2002, and in which federal education policies are being framed by administrative rule making, there need to be funds set aside for helping school districts deal successfully with integration at the school and classroom levels and the stabilization of integrated communities. More could be done to promote diversity through building preferences into existing and new federal policy and to provide support to local districts, including through a renewed focus on desegregation at the regional Equity Assistance Centers. The one new federal program to support district diversity efforts since the 1970s was Technical Assistance for Student Assignment Policies (TASAP) in 2009, designed to support districts by helping with diversity plans. Despite its short turnaround and low amount of funding, TASAP had more than twice as many applicants as available funds in its very brief existence.

In December 2011, the federal government released guidance on what legal and effective approaches districts could employ to create diverse schools and/or eliminate racially isolated schools. This was an important, positive step, signaling the government's support of efforts to voluntarily achieve diversity after the *Parents Involved* decision in 2007, and replacing a narrow interpretation of the Bush Office of Civil Rights in 2008.

The Office for Civil Rights of the Education Department and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice in the Obama Administration are far more concerned about enforcement of existing desegregation plans currently than during the Bush Administration. Nevertheless, aside from the 2011 guidance, there has been no major encouragement nor incentives for working on integration.

There are still several hundred districts that are under desegregation orders, including many on the Department of Justice's docket. There should be some type of comprehensive approach to how these districts and parties to the cases should approach existing cases. As mentioned above, in some districts, prior to the declaration of unitary status, segregation can rise if plans are not being followed, or if there have been demographic changes since the plan was developed. How can existing orders be reinvigorated in ways that promote equity and integration in a demographically changing environment? In particular, what are the responsibilities to integrate Latino or multiracial students? We suggest that the Department of Justice develop guidelines or general principles that should guide these cases, since they offer opportunities to pursue diversity under court order that may be more limited due to *Parents Involved,* once the district is declared unitary.[14]

[14] Chinh Le gives specific suggestions about what these guidelines might include and how they might guide existing cases. See Le, C. Q. (2010). Racially Integrated Education and the Role of the Federal Government. *North Carolina Law Review, 88,* 725-786.

School Choice. The structure of school choice policies can also greatly affect school segregation.[15] In recent years, the Obama administration has tied the Magnet School Assistance Program (MSAP) to fewer funding priorities, thus helping to emphasize its mission to reduce racial isolation. Yet, the MSAP has received relatively constant funding for decades, as charter school funding has increased rapidly. Indeed, the Obama administration has prioritized the use of charter schools as a permissible school turnaround model, through its Race to the Top incentives, and in other ways, even though research has shown that charter schools are deeply segregated.[16] The Administration's policies successfully pressured many states to lift their caps on charters. While the Obama Administration has allowed for some charter school funding programs to include a competitive preference for applicants that wish to seek diversity or reduce racial isolation, they are relatively small incentives compared to other aspects of charter school policy that tend to exacerbate segregation.[17] In the 2015 Budget Request, President Obama proposed a Promoting Public School Choice program, as part of its Expanding Educational Options program, that would create incentives to create diverse schools within or across districts using choice policies.[18] To date, there is no funding requested for this program, despite its intention to promote diversity, especially across school district boundary lines, which are major contributors to continuing segregation. We recommend substantial expansion of magnet school funding, strong civil rights policies for charter schools, serious incentives for regional collaboration, and teacher training for diverse and racially changing schools.

Housing. The persisting segregation of housing and the separation of most of our metropolitan communities into many separate school districts are fundamental causes of separate and unequal schooling. The recent publication of new data on housing discrimination by HUD has shown a positive decline in some forms of discrimination in the marketing of housing.[19] Severe segregation persists for African Americans, and no overall progress is being made in the residential integration of Latinos. The problems are by far the worst in a small number of metropolitan areas that experience hyper-segregation and are home to a substantial fraction of the nation's students of color. This segregation is based on unequal knowledge of housing options, segregation of real estate and rental agency staffs, the lack of counseling for families of color and for recipients of housing subsidies about school quality and their options, mortgage finance issues and other inequalities. We urge the HUD to develop a more comprehensive policy framework and to research and publicize the success of communities which have mobilized local government, school districts, and housing professionals in devising strategies that have defeated resegregation and racial steering and that have produced lasting school and community diversity.

We also recommend that the Administration create a joint HUD, Justice Department, and Education Department staff assigned to work with experts outside government in devising a plan

[15] See generally Orfield, G., & Frankenberg, E. (2013). *Educational delusions? Why choice can deepen inequality and how to make it fair.* University of California Press.
[16] Frankenberg, E., Siegel-Hawley, G., & Wang, J. (2011). Choice without equity: Charter school segregation. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 19(1).*
[17] NCSD Issue Brief #4, pg 2, Available at http://www.school-diversity.org/pdf/DiversityIssueBriefNo4.pdf
[18] Education, Equity and Opportunity in the Obama Administration's FY 2015 Budget (March 2014). Available at http://www.school-diversity.org/pdf/NCSDstatementonthePresidentsproposed2015budget.pdf
[19] Turner, M.A., Santos, R., Levy, D.K., Wissoker, D., Aranda, C., & Pitingolo, R., (2013). *Housing discrimination against racial and ethnic minorities 2012.* Washington DC: Urban Institute

to support durable integration in communities and schools in the many racially changing suburbs, in gentrifying city neighborhoods, and in other locations. These issues must be addressed unless the country wants to continue to experience resegregation, disinvestment in communities and the inability of cities and many inner suburbs to hold middle class families with children of any race. Dual immersion language programs should be strongly encouraged as a valuable educational tool, which fosters positive integration experiences and can be a powerful tool for acquiring second language fluency for both the English-speakers and those fluent in the languages of their homes.

Regionalism. Most Americans and most educators take school boundaries as fixed and un-crossable, even as metropolitan areas recognize that they are very large communities with common interests that cooperate on transportation, economic development, air quality and environment, and even on zoos and museums. No one community can solve problems that reach far beyond its boundary lines. Studies clearly show that most contemporary segregation is not inside of individual districts; it is between districts. The U.S. Supreme Court failed to deal with this issue in its 5-4 decision in the l974 Detroit case (*Milliken v. Bradley*). As a result, there is no current basis in federal law for ordering any kind of interdistrict cooperation. But the Connecticut Supreme Court did decide in the *Sheff* case that district boundaries were a fundamental barrier to the rights of the State's minority students. It required the State to come up with remedies to the existing segregation, which has produced very popular and much in-demand regional magnet schools. Southern states with county-wide school districts have, in general, been much less segregated than the highly fragmented metros in the Northeast and Midwest. The state of North Carolina has, for many years, strongly encouraged county-wide school consolidation. This policy was not adopted for desegregation purposes but for educational efficiency; it has, however, helped integration. We recommend that regional educators, researchers, urban planners and civil rights groups examine the results of various forms of regional cooperation in order to devise plans for regional magnets and student and faculty transfers. State officials could consider incentives or requirements for regional collaboration, looking, for example, at the Omaha, Nebraska region's experience. Many suburbs that are experiencing diversification would be much more able to deal with the challenges of racial change if there were regional collaboration, and important integrated educational opportunities could be opened for many city students as well. In the leading cities, state governments and universities should consider creation of truly exceptional state magnet schools, taking care that policies do not limit who is able to take advantage of these options.

The Education Profession. In a society where most middle-class people have little contact with impoverished segregated schools, educators are a great exception. They see the enormous challenges young students from poor families in impoverished and sometimes dangerous communities face, and they know the unfairness of a system that offers the least to those who need the most and the best to those who are most privileged and live in families and neighborhoods with the most resources and educational experiences for the young. Yet experienced educators systematically move away from segregated minority schools to largely white or integrated schools where the students are better prepared and the external problems less severe. Educators spoke up and worked on the racial dimensions of these issues often during the civil rights era. We believe they have been largely silenced by the "no excuses" rhetoric and as a result of too many attacks on their profession and their organizations by political leaders of both

parties. The time has come for educators to talk back, to explain contemporary racial and economic realities in schools, and to broaden the public discussion by suggesting better approaches. We recommend that researchers, education writers, educational officials and leaders, education associations, teachers and teachers organizations begin to very actively communicate with the larger society about the vast opportunity gaps that exist and the costs of isolating disadvantaged children from middle class students and from students of other races in schools often overwhelmed by problems they did not cause and cannot completely overcome by themselves. Educators need to advocate for and create real alternatives. Good schools of choice must demand the tools, including transportation to make choices fairly available to those who need them. They need to recommend systems of assessment and rewards that would keep good teachers in low-income minority schools rather than drive them out. They need to work very hard on broadening the diversity in their own ranks, which would entail a comprehensive effort of colleges of education, state education agencies, and teachers' unions examining the ways in which the teaching preparation pipeline may lose teaching candidates of color. And they need, right now, to demand a voice in decisions which have been too often made in recent decades by politicians, foundation leaders, and others without any knowledge of the actual challenges facing schools segregated by race, poverty and language.

Conclusion

Desegregation is not a panacea, and it is simply not feasible in some situations. Within diverse schools, there can be classroom segregation and unequal treatment, so those issues must be addressed by teachers and administrators. There are many consequential impacts of family and community poverty that can be addressed only by social and economic policy and by civil rights changes in housing and other areas. There are, of course, important things other than desegregation, such as building high quality preschools and developing policies to assign and hold highly qualified and experienced teachers in segregated schools. Nothing in this study is meant to disparage those efforts. They are needed whether or not desegregation is possible. Where it is possible, however-- and it still is possible in many areas-- desegregation properly implemented can make a very real contribution to equalizing educational opportunities and preparing young Americans for the extremely diverse society in which they will live and work and govern together. It is the only major tool our society has for this goal.

It is good to celebrate *Brown* by revisiting historic sites and remembering the many struggles that led to the decision and the changes in the South. It was a major accomplishment of which we should rightfully be proud. But a real celebration should also involve thinking seriously about why the country has turned away from the goal of *Brown* and accepted deepening polarization and inequality in our schools. It is time to stop celebrating a version of history that ignores our last quarter century of retreat and to begin make new history by finding ways to apply the vision of *Brown* in a transformed, multiracial society in another century.

APPENDIX A: Social Science Research on School Integration[20]

The consensus of nearly 60 years of social science research on the harms of school segregation is clear: separate remains extremely unequal. Racially and socioeconomically isolated schools are strongly related to an array of factors that limit educational opportunities and outcomes. These factors include less experienced and less qualified teachers, high levels of teacher turnover, less successful peer groups, and inadequate facilities and learning materials.

Teachers are the most powerful influence on academic achievement in schools.[21] One recent longitudinal study showed that having a strong teacher in elementary grades had a long-lasting, positive impact on students' lives, including reduced teenage pregnancy rates, higher levels of college-going, and higher job earnings.[22] Unfortunately, despite the clear benefits of strong teaching, we also know that highly qualified[23] and experienced[24] teachers are spread very unevenly across schools, and are much less likely to remain in segregated or resegregating settings.[25] Teachers' salaries and advanced training are also lower in schools of concentrated poverty.[26]

Findings showing that the motivation and engagement of classmates are strongly linked to educational outcomes for poor students date back to the famous 1966 Coleman Report. The central conclusion of that report (as well as numerous follow-up analyses) was that the

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[20] This section is adapted from Orfield, G., Kucsera, J., & Siegel-Hawley, G. (2012). *E pluribus ... separation? Deepening double segregation for more students.* Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Civil Rights Project. Available at: http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/mlk-national/e-pluribus...separation-deepening-double-segregation-for-more-students

[21] Rivkin, S. G., Hanushek, E. A., & Kain, J. F. (2005). Teachers, schools, and academic achievement, *Econometrica, 73*(2), 417-58.

[22] Chetty, R., Friedman, J. N., & Rockoff, J. E. (2011). The long-term impacts of teachers: Teacher value-added and student outcomes in adulthood (NBER Working Paper # 17699). Retrieved from: http:// obs.rc.fas.har vard.edu/chetty/value_added.pdf

[23] Clotfelter, C., Ladd, H., & Vigdor, J. (2005). Who teaches whom? Race and the distribution of novice teachers, *Economics of Education Review, 24*(4), 377-392; Rivkin, Hanushek, & Kain, 2005.

[24] See, for example, Lankford, H., Loeb, S., & Wyckoff, J. (2002). Teacher sorting and the plight of urban schools: A descriptive analysis. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 24*(1): 37-62; Watson, S. (2001), *Recruiting and retaining teachers: Keys to improving the Philadelphia public schools.* Philadelphia: Consortium for Policy Research in Education. In addition, one research study found that in California schools, the share of unqualified teachers is 6.75 times higher in high-minority schools (more than 90% minority) than in low-minority schools (less than 30% minority). See Darling-Hammond, L. (2001). Apartheid in American education: How opportunity is rationed to children of color in the United States, In T. Johnson, J. E. Boyden, & W. J. Pittz (Eds.), *Racial profiling and punishment in U.S. public schools* (pp. 39-44). Oakland, CA: Applied Research Center.

[25] Clotfelter, C., Ladd, H., & Vigdor, J. (2010). Teacher mobility, school segregation, and pay-based policies to level the playing field. *Education, Finance, and Policy, 6*(3), 399-438; Jackson, K. (2009). Student demographics, teacher sorting, and teacher quality: Evidence from the end of school desegregation, *Journal of Labor Economics, 27*(2), 213-256.

[26] Miller, R. (2010). *Comparable, schmomparable. Evidence of inequity in the allocation of funds for teacher salary within California's public school districts.* Washington, DC: Center for American Progress;
Roza, M., Hill, P. T., Sclafani, S., & Speakman, S. (2004). *How within-district spending inequities help some schools to fail.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution; U.S. Department of Education. (2011). *Comparability of state and local expenditures among schools within districts: A report from the study of school-level expenditures*. Washington, DC: Author.

concentration of poverty in a school influenced student achievement more than the poverty status of an individual student.[27] This finding is largely related to whether or not high academic achievement, homework completion, regular attendance, and college-going are normalized by peers.[28] Attitudinal differences toward schooling among low- and middle-to-high income students stem from a variety of internal and external factors, including the difficulty level and relevance of the learning materials that are provided to students in different school settings. Schools serving low-income and segregated neighborhoods have been shown to provide less challenging curricula than schools in more affluent communities that largely serve populations of white and Asian students.[29] The impact of the standards and accountability era has been felt more acutely in minority-segregated schools where a focus on rote skills and memorization, in many instances, takes the place of creative, engaging teaching.[30] By contrast, students in middle-class schools normally have little trouble with high-stakes exams, so the schools and teachers are free to broaden the curriculum. Segregated school settings are also significantly less likely than more affluent settings to offer AP- or honors-level courses that help boost student GPAs and garner early college credits.[31]

All these things taken together tend to produce lower educational achievement and attainment—which in turn limits lifetime opportunities—for students who attend high poverty, high minority school settings.[32] Additional findings on expulsion rates, dropout rates, success in college, test scores, and graduation rates underscore the negative impact of segregation. Student discipline is harsher and the rate of expulsion is much higher in minority-segregated schools than in

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[27] Borman, G., & Dowling, M. (2010). Schools and inequality: A multilevel analysis of Coleman's equality of educational opportunity data. *Teachers College Record, 112*(5), 1201-1246.

[28] Kahlenberg, R. (2001). *All together now: Creating middle class schools through public school choice.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

[29] Rumberger, R. W., & Palardy, G. J. (2005). Does segregation still matter? The impact of student composition on academic achievement in high school. *Teachers College Record, 107*(9), 1999-2045; Hoxby, C. M. (2000). *Peer effects in the classroom: Learning from gender and race variation (NBER Working Paper No. 7867).* Cambridge: National Bureau of Economic Research; Schofield, J. W. (2006). Ability grouping, composition effects, and the achievement gap. In J. W. Schofield (Ed.), *Migration background, minority-group membership and academic achievement research evidence from social, educational, and development psychology* (pp. 67-95). Berlin: Social Science Research Center.

[30] Knaus, C. (2007). Still segregated, still unequal: Analyzing the impact of No Child Left Behind on African-American students. In The National Urban League (Ed.), *The state of Black America: Portrait of the Black male* (pp. 105-121). Silver Spring, MD: Beckham Publications Group.

[31] Orfield, G., & Eaton, S. E. (1996). *Dismantling desegregation: The quiet reversal of Brown v. Board of Education.* New York: The New Press; Orfield, G., & Lee, C. (2005). Why segregation matters: Poverty and educational inequality. Cambridge, MA: Civil Rights Project.

[32] Mickelson, R. A. (2006). Segregation and the SAT. *Ohio State Law Journal, 67*, 157-200; Mickelson, R. A. (2001). First- and second-generation segregation in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg schools. *American Educational Research Journal, 38*(2), 215-252; Borman, K. A. (2004). Accountability in a postdesegregation era: The continuing significance of racial segregation in Florida's schools. *American Educational Research Journal, 41*(3), 605-631; Swanson, C. B. (2004). *Who graduates? Who doesn't? A statistical portrait of public high school graduation, Class of 2001*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute; Benson, J., & Borman, G. (2010). Family, neighborhood, and school settings across seasons: When do socioeconomic context and racial composition matter for the reading achievement growth of young children? *Teachers College Record, 112*(5), 1338-1390; Borman, G., & Dowling, M. (2010). Schools and inequality: A multilevel analysis of Coleman's equality of educational opportunity data. *Teachers College Record, 112*(5), 1201-1246; Crosnoe, R. (2005). The diverse experiences of Hispanic students in the American educational system. *Sociological Forum, 20*, 561-588.

wealthier, whiter ones.[33] Dropout rates are significantly higher in segregated and impoverished schools (nearly all of the 2,000 "dropout factories" are doubly segregated by race and poverty),[34] and if students do graduate, research indicates that they are less likely to be successful in college, even after controlling for test scores.[35] Segregation, in short, has strong and lasting impacts on students' success in school and later life.[36]

On the other hand, there is also a mounting body of evidence indicating that desegregated schools are linked to profound benefits for all children. In terms of social outcomes, racially integrated educational contexts provide students of all races with the opportunity to learn and work with children from a range of backgrounds. These settings foster critical thinking skills that are increasingly important in our multiracial society—skills that help students understand a variety of different perspectives.[37] Relatedly, integrated schools are linked to reduction in students' willingness to accept stereotypes.[38] Students attending integrated schools also report a heightened ability to communicate and make friends across racial lines.[39]

Studies have shown that desegregated settings are associated with heightened academic achievement for minority students,[40] with no corresponding detrimental impact for white

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[33] Exposure to draconian, "zero tolerance" discipline measures is linked to dropping out of school and subsequent entanglement with the criminal justice system, a very different trajectory than attending college and developing a career. Advancement Project & The Civil Rights Project (2000). *Opportunities suspended: The devastating consequences of zero tolerance and school discipline policies.* Cambridge, MA: Civil Rights Project. Retrieved from http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/school-discipline/opportunities-suspended-the-devastating-consequences-of-zero-tolerance-and-school-discipline-policies/.

[34] Balfanz, R., & Legters, N. E. (2004). Locating the dropout crisis: Which high schools produce the nation's dropouts? In G. Orfield (Ed.), *Dropouts in America: Confronting the graduation rate crisis* (pp. 57-84.). Cambridge: Harvard Education Press, 2004; Swanson, C. (2004). Sketching a portrait of public high school graduation: Who graduates? Who doesn't? In G. Orfield, (Ed.), *Dropouts in America: Confronting the graduation rate crisis* (pp. 13-40). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

[35] Camburn, E. (1990). College completion among students from high schools located in large metropolitan areas. *American Journal of Education, 98*(4), 551-569.

[36] Wells, A. S., & Crain, R. L. (1994). Perpetuation theory and the long-term effects of school desegregation. *Review of Educational Research, 64*, 531-555; Braddock, J. H., & McPartland, J. (1989). Social-psychological processes that perpetuate racial segregation: The relationship between school and employment segregation. *Journal of Black Studies, 19*(3), 267-289.

[37] Schofield, J. (1995). Review of research on school desegregation's impact on elementary and secondary school students. In J. A. Banks & C. A. M. Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural education* (pp. 597–616). New York: Macmillan Publishing.

[38] Mickelson, R., & Bottia, M. (2010). Integrated education and mathematics outcomes: A synthesis of social science research. *North Carolina Law Review, 88*, 993; Pettigrew, T., & Tropp, L. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*(5), 751-783; Ready, D., & Silander, M. (2011). School racial and ethnic composition and young children's cognitive development: Isolating family, neighborhood and school influences. In E. Frankenberg & E. DeBray (Eds.), *Integrating schools in a changing society: New policies and legal options for a multiracial generation* (pp. 91-113). Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.

[39] Killen, M., Crystal, D., & Ruck, M (2007). The social developmental benefits of intergroup contact among children and adolescents. In E. Frankenberg & G. Orfield (Eds.), *Lessons in integration: Realizing the promise of racial diversity in American schools* (pp. 31-56). Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.

[40] Braddock, J. (2009). Looking back: The effects of court-ordered desegregation. In C. Smrekar & E. Goldring (Eds.), *From the courtroom to the classroom: The shifting landscape of school desegregation* (pp. 3-18). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press; Crain, R., & Mahard, R. (1983). The effect of research methodology on

students.[41] These trends later translate into loftier educational and career expectations,[42] and high levels of civic and communal responsibility.[43] Black students who attended desegregated schools are substantially more likely to graduate from high school and college, in part because they are more connected to challenging curriculum and social networks that support such goals.[44] Earnings and physical well-being are also positively impacted: a recent study by a Berkeley economist found that black students who attended desegregated schools for at least five years earned 25% more than their counterparts from segregated settings. By middle age, the same group was also in far better health.[45] Perhaps most important of all, evidence indicates that school desegregation can have perpetuating effects across generations. Students of all races who attended integrated schools are more likely to seek out integrated colleges, workplaces, and neighborhoods later in life, which may in turn provide integrated educational opportunities for their own children.[46]

In the aftermath of *Brown*, we learned a great deal about how to structure diverse schools to make them work for students of all races. In 1954, a prominent Harvard social psychologist, Gordon Allport, suggested that four key elements are necessary for positive contact across different groups.[47] Allport theorized that all group members needed to be given equal status, that guidelines needed to be established for working cooperatively, that group members needed to work toward common goals, and that strong leadership visibly supportive of intergroup relationship building was necessary. Over the past 60-odd years, Allport's conditions have held up in hundreds of studies of diverse institutions across the world.[48] In schools, those crucial elements can play out in multiple ways, including efforts to detrack students and integrate them at the classroom level, ensuring cooperative, heterogonous groupings in classrooms and highly visible, positive modeling from teachers and school leaders around issues of diversity.[49]

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desegregation-achievement studies: A meta-analysis. *American Journal of Sociology, 88*(5), 839-854; Schofield, 1995.

[41] Hoschild, J., & Scrovronick, N. (2004). *The American dream and the public schools*. New York: Oxford University Press.

[42] Crain, R. L. (1970). School integration and occupational achievement of Negroes. *American Journal of Sociology, 75*, 593-606; Dawkins, M. P. (1983). Black students' occupational expectations: A national study of the impact of school desegregation. *Urban Education, 18*, 98-113; Kurlaender, M., & Yun, J. (2005). Fifty years after Brown: New evidence of the impact of school racial composition on student outcomes. *International Journal of Educational Policy, Research, and Practice, 6*(1), 51-78.

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[46] Mickelson, R. (2011). Exploring the school-housing nexus: A synthesis of social science evidence. In P. Tegeler (Ed.), *Finding common ground: Coordinating housing and education policy to promote integration* (pp. 5-8). Washington, DC: Poverty and Race Research Action Council; Wells, A.S., & Crain, R. L. (1994). Perpetuation theory and the long-term effects of school desegregation. *Review of Educational Research, 6*, 531-555.

[47] Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice.* Cambridge: Addison-Wesley.

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[49] Hawley, W. D. (2007). Designing schools that use student diversity to enhance learning of all students. In E. Frankenberg & G. Orfield (Eds.), *Lessons in integration: Realizing the promise of racial diversity in American schools* (pp. 31-56). Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.

APPENDIX B: Additional Tables

Table B-1

Percentage of Black Students in 50-100% Minority Schools, 1968, 1988, 1991, 2001, and 2011

	1968	1988	1991	2001	2011	Change from 1968-2011 (% Change)	Change from Past Decade (% Change)
South	76.6	56.5	60.1	69.8	76.8	-4.1 (-5.1)	7.0 (10.0)
Border	71.6	59.6	59.3	67.9	73.2	1.6 (2.2)	5.3 (7.8)
Northeast	66.8	77.3	75.2	78.4	79.4	12.6 (18.9)	1.0 (1.3)
Midwest	77.3	70.1	69.7	72.9	73.7	-3.6 (-4.7)	0.8 (1.1)
West	72.2	67.1	69.2	75.8	82.4	10.2 (14.1)	6.6 (8.7)

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data. Data prior to 1991 obtained from the analysis of the Office of Civil Rights data in Orfield, G. (1983). *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980.* Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Table B-2

Most segregated states for black students, 1980

Rank	% Black in Majority White Schools		% Black in 90-100% Minority Schools		Black Exposure to White Students	
1	Michigan	18.1%	Illinois	67.7%	Illinois	19.0%
2	Illinois	20.6%	New York	56.2%	Michigan	22.5%
3	New York	23.3%	Michigan	51.0%	New York	23.0%
4	New Jersey	23.3%	New Jersey	50.0%	New Jersey	26.4%
5	Mississippi	23.6%	Pennsylvania	49.0%	California	27.7%
6	California	24.7%	Missouri	44.2%	Mississippi	29.2%
7	Pennsylvania	29.3%	California	41.4%	Pennsylvania	29.3%
8	Maryland	32.8%	Louisiana	36.9%	Louisiana	32.8%
9	Louisiana	34.2%	Mississippi	36.7%	Missouri	34.1%
10	Texas	36.0%	Indiana	34.7%	Texas	35.2%
11	Missouri	36.4%	Texas	33.9%	Maryland	35.4%
12	Tennessee	36.7%	Connecticut	32.0%	Tennessee	38.0%
13	Indiana	38.1%	Alabama	31.9%	Georgia	38.3%
14	Georgia	39.9%	Maryland	30.3%	Indiana	38.7%
15	South Carolina	40.1%	Tennessee	29.8%	Alabama	39.7%
16	Ohio	41.1%	Georgia	25.8%	Connecticut	40.3%
17	Connecticut	42.1%	Wisconsin	21.2%	South Carolina	42.7%
18	Arkansas	42.2%	Florida	17.4%	Ohio	43.2%
19	Virginia	42.3%	Ohio	14.7%	Arizona	44.2%
20	Arizona	43.8%	South Carolina	14.3%	Wisconsin	44.5%

Adapted from Orfield, G. (1983). *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980.* Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies, Tables 4, 6 & Appendix A.

Table B-3

Percentage of Latino Students in 50-100% Minority Schools, 1968, 1988, 1991, 2001, and 2011

	1968	1988	1991	2001	2011	Change from 1968-2011 (% Change)	Change from Past Decade (% Change)
South	69.6	80.2	76.4	77.7	81.0	11.4 (16.4)	3.3 (4.2)
Border	---	---	38.2	52.8	59.9	---	7.1 (13.4)
Northeast	74.8	79.7	77.4	78.2	76.6	1.8 (2.4)	-1.6 (-2.0)
Midwest	31.8	52.3	53.6	56.6	58.9	27.1 (85.2)	2.3 (4.1)
West	42.4	71.3	72.6	80.1	84.1	41.7 (98.3)	4.0 (5.0%)

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data. Data prior to 1991 obtained from the analysis of the Office of Civil Rights data in Orfield, G. (1983). *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980.* Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Table B-4

Most segregated states for Hispanic students, 1980

Rank	% Hispanic in Majority White Schools		% Hispanic in 90-100% Minority Schools		Hispanic Exposure to White Students	
1	New York	17.8%	New York	56.8%	New York	20.8%
2	Texas	21.8%	Texas	39.8%	Texas	27.7%
3	New Jersey	23.5%	New Jersey	34.9%	New Jersey	29.6%
4	New Mexico	24.7%	Illinois	32.3%	New Mexico	32.6%
5	Florida	30.3%	Pennsylvania	28.8%	Florida	35.3%
6	California	32.1%	Florida	25.2%	California	35.9%
7	Illinois	34.7%	Connecticut	24.9%	Illinois	36.4%
8	Connecticut	36.3%	Indiana	24.6%	Connecticut	37.9%
9	Arizona	37.7%	California	22.2%	Pennsylvania	43.4%
10	Massachusetts	50.4%	New Mexico	17.1%	Arizona	43.5%
11	Washington	60.0%	Arizona	12.8%	Indiana	52.1%
12	Colorado	67.1%	Hawaii	11.9%	Massachusetts	52.6%
13	Rhode Island	69.6%	Mississippi	6.8%	Mississippi	56.7%
14	Kansas	86.0%	Louisiana	4.9%	Colorado	59.0%
15	Nevada	94.1%	Massachusetts	4.5%	Louisiana	60.8%
16	Wyoming	94.9%	Michigan	3.0%	Rhode Island	61.5%
17	Utah	96.9%	Kansas	2.9%	Connecticut	63.4%
18	Oregon	98.2%	Georgia	2.3%	Washington	63.5%
19	Idaho	99.8%	Wisconsin	2.2%	Wisconsin	65.2%
20			Colorado/Oklahoma	1.6%	North Carolina	66.2%

Adapted from Orfield, G. (1983). *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980.* Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies, Tables 14, Appendix A;
Notes: First column- Table 14, p. 17- only had 19 states in the table; Third column- only shows states with at least 5% Hispanic students